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The Nation.

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'ORIAL

...D GOOD AS GOLDWATER

The Nation was not in the vanguard of support for Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign twenty years ago. His rhetoric sounded like the stuff of military madness, imperial adventure and national calamity. As it turned out, his successful opponent made such stuff substance, and Goldwater's ideas began to seem mild compared with the horrors of Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy. But was there always a reasonable statesman lurking beneath the extremist exterior? We reprint, with admiration and a bit of amusement, some evidence to that effect, contained in a letter Goldwater sent to Director of Central Intelligence William Casey on April 9:

> All this past weekend, I've been trying to figure out how I can most easily tell you my feelings about the discovery of the President having approved mining some of the harbors of Central America.
>
> It gets down to one little, simple phrase: I am pissed off!
>
> . . . Now, during the important debate we had . . . on whether we would increase funds for the Nicaragua program, we were doing all right until a member of the committee charged that the President had approved the mining. I strongly denied that because I had never heard of it. I found out the next day that the C.I.A. had, with the written approval of the President, engaged in such mining, and the approval came in February!
>
> Bill, this is no way to run a railroad. . . .
>
> The President has asked us to back his foreign policy. Bill, how can we back [it] when we don't know what the hell he is doing? . . . This is an act violating international law. It is an act of war. . . .
>
> I don't like this. I don't like it one bit from the President or from you.

But don't start a Goldwater-for-President boomlet just yet. The Senator voted against the Kennedy resolution opposing the mining.

OUT-OF-ORDER ARMAGEDDON
Calvin Trillin

£

A GREEN PARTY U.S.A.?
Charlene Spretnak

AFTER THE GENERALS IN TURKEY
Mehmet Demir
Hasan Celik

Maria Margaronis

CYRIL CONNOLLY RECONSIDERED
Bernard McCabe

'JUSTICE AT WAR'
Randall Kennedy

SPREAD OUT THE VOTE

ENFRANCHISE THE POOR—A GOAL FOR '84

This is the third in a series of comments by members of The Nation*'s editorial board on the candidates and issues in this election year.*
—The Editors

BLAIR CLARK

While the Democratic Presidential candidates quarrel and fiddle their way toward San Francisco and the likely outcome of an unattractive candidate unappealingly selected, one bright hope for defeating Reagan is emerging. Call it A.B.R. if you will—Anyone But Reagan—this practical, hard-boiled movement is registering poor people to vote, and it has the potential for changing the face of American politics.

It comes as no surprise that the disadvantaged in America, those at the bottom, are massively unenfranchised, but the figures are still startling: only about one-third of those with incomes of less than $10,000 are registered, compared with nearly 80 percent of those earning $30,000 or more. Conservatives like George Will, a commentator who gives articulacy a bad name, would say, "Tough luck" to the poor and voteless: if they don't care enough to make the effort to register, they don't deserve the vote.

That lofty attitude, perhaps fitting in the kind of aristocracy American conservatives yearn for, ignores the obstacles society places between poor people and registration. One is the sheer difficulty of qualifying to vote in this democracy which we like to call popular. The United States is the only large democratic nation in which the government does not actively register its citizens to vote.

The barriers that states' rights doctrines have

(*Continued on Page 481*)

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LETTERS.

NAVASKY'S MISSING RESEARCH

New York City

On April 2, the day before the New York primary, I received the April 7 *Nation*. Victor Navasky's "Hart's Lost Year" was disturbing to this decades-long opponent of McCarthyism (as a former co-chair of an Anti-Defamation League chapter, a member of Nixon's Enemies List, etc.).

Navasky looks at the brief period in the career of Hart—then in his mid-20s—when he worked at the Justice Department, but he reports nothing substantial other than the fact that Hart was employed in the internal security division. Navasky wonders, Did young Hart "choose the job or did he simply take what was given to him?" Yet despite Navasky's admitted lack of an answer to that question, he also asks, "Why *did* Gary Hart choose to spend all those months, at a time that was so important in the struggle for civil rights, mopping up the witch hunt?"

Witch hunt? Navasky offers no evidence that Hart was mopping up the witch hunt. All he offers is the recollection of a retired official to the effect that Hart handled a particular case—involving a violation of the Trading With the Enemy Act—with "'enthusiasm' and ability." Nor does Navasky indicate any knowledge of how Hart disposed of the case.

If Navasky was unable to come up with any more facts than the few he sets forth, what was the purpose of writing the article?

Albert Ornstein

NAVASKY REPLIES

My purpose in writing the editorial was to raise two questions: What *was* Gary Hart's role in the internal security division? And, Why doesn't he include that experience in any of his campaign literature?

Almost by definition, during Hart's tenure the work of the appeals section of the internal security division—defending, among other things, the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act, the right of the Secretary of State to withhold passports for political reasons, the right of the Postmaster General to intercept so-called Communist propaganda, the contempt citations of Congressional witnesses who refused to name names, etc.—involved "mopping up the witch hunt." If Senator Hart is proud of his nine months in the internal security division, he should be pleased to answer the questions I posed.

Victor Navasky

DISHING 'AMERICAN COUPLES'

Seattle

I read with dismay Daniel Menaker's review of *American Couples*, which I wrote with Philip Blumstein ["Relax, You're Normal," *The Nation*, March 10]. . . . It is obvious that Menaker was longing for some psychoanalytic "truths" to react to and was unsatisfied with a description of how people behave and what *they* see as important in their lives. I know that Menaker considers many of our couples banal and wouldn't be interested in having them to his home for dinner. I know that he can't stand to see patterns and would much rather see each couple treated as a unique occurrence never again to be repeated on this or any other planet. Yet knowing that there are people like Menaker out there, I was still surprised to see his views in *The Nation*. My family has subscribed to *The Nation* ever since it began, and I always thought of it as a sober, thoughtful journal. I would not have expected to get a review that could have been printed in the jazziest, snappiest life-style magazine on the stands. Full of the author's personality and a "let's have fun and really dish these people" approach. No pretensions to fairness—lots of laughs. I have to say I found his decision to call us Phil and Pepper a particularly unnecessary bit of ugliness. I suppose he wanted to say that we weren't worthy of our Ph.D.s. Perhaps not even of grown-up status. But I believe that this book, based on a study funded by a jury of our peers and greeted by most of the professional and lay community with admiration, deserved a bit better. Perhaps it is self-serving to say so, but I think the least we could have expected was courtesy. Courtesy isn't very sexy—neither is being fair. But I thought *The Nation* would have insisted on such an approach. My mistake.

Pepper Schwartz

A HARD DAY'S WRITE

Stony Brook, N.Y.

Michael Kimmel says that he finds the central argument of my book, *More Work for Mother,* "unconvincing" ["Housework: Is Less More?" *The Nation*, Feb. 4]. I am not surprised, since the argument that he attributes to me, "that the dawn of industrial capitalism woke humankind from a pastoral mutualism, [and] introduced the gender division of labor," is so patently absurd that I would not even state it, let alone try to convince anyone of it.

Indeed, Kimmel's view is full of misinterpretations of what I wrote. Perhaps he read *More Work for Mother* at the end of a hard day of child care and housecleaning.

Ruth Schwartz Cowan

KIMMEL REPLIES

New York City

I regret that Ruth Cowan is unhappy with my review of *More Work for Mother,* but her letter does little to correct my "misinterpretations." The central argument of her book, as I state clearly in the review, is that "women work longer and harder today than they ever did." You don't have to take my word for it. Cowan notes the "paradox" that "in the face of so many labor-saving devices, little labor appears to have been saved!" In the post-World War II era, Cowan sees women "working harder inside their houses than their mothers had worked" because there is "more work for a mother to do in a modern house." I still find this argument unconvincing.

The statement Cowan attributes to me is drawn out of context from a sentence that reads: "Arguments like this—that the dawn of industrial capitalism woke humankind from a pastoral mutualism, introduced the gender division of labor and separated work and home—have become popular recently." Cowan's work belongs in that realm of discourse even though she may disavow it. She writes that in preindustrial society, women and men worked "in tandem" and that relations between the sexes were "reciprocal." Those terms suggest symmetrical, nonhierarchical relations rather than what Myra Jehlen calls the "oppressive coherence" of preindustrial life. Again, I find Cowan's argument unconvincing.

The reason I was able to pay such careful attention to *More Work for Mother* is that I had plenty of time in between washing the dishes, doing the laundry and tossing the vegetables in the wok. Even for single men, housework today takes far less time and far less effort.

Michael Kimmel

WHERE TO FIND RUSSIAN POETS

Kansas City, Kans.

Paul Schmidt's essay on Russian and American poets was thoughtful and well written but calls for two points of correction ["Our Russian Poets—And Theirs," *The Nation*, March 24]. First, the Russians themselves are publishing often excellent and always serviceable Russian-English editions of their poets, including some of those mentioned by Schmidt. . . . Poets from the non-Russian Soviet republics are also being published extensively. And the Russians have published a large volume of their war poetry, for which Schmidt says there is a need. All these are available from Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Second, I suggest that the themes of private alienation have tended to prevail in most cultures among bourgeois and upper-class poets—in the United States, perhaps, more than anywhere else: Sherwood Anderson observed that Americans are the loneliest people in the world. However, we have also had a dynamic and proud radical poetry as represented by Tom McGrath, Meride LeSueur, Don Gordon, Dudley Randall, Olga Cabral, Vincent Ferrini, Don West, David Cumberland, Joy Harjo, John Beecher and Simon Ortiz, among others whose works are not less important for being so seldom reviewed in respectable literary journals. We have always had that social vision in our literature, though it is frequently suppressed or ignored.

Fred Whitehead

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EDITORIALS.

Taken to Court

The Administration's clumsy attempt to head off Nicaragua at the International Court of Justice by suspending this country's adherence to its jurisdiction has had the unintended effect of galvanizing opposition to U.S. policy in Central America. Shooting wildly from the hip, President Reagan this time seems to have blown away several of his toes. It was not long ago that the Senate obediently followed Reagan into the widening morass by voting more millions for operations against the Nicaraguan government and the Salvadoran insurgents. Now the dimensions of the disaster are clearer than ever, and the House may close the coffers.

Nicaragua's case against the United States for directing the mining of Corinto and Puerto Sandino harbors is about as open-and-shut as any international legal matter can be. The Administration no longer seriously denies the charge. Newspaper reporters have heard so many authoritative leaks on the operations that they no longer speak of them as "alleged"; the facts are hard, and they are plain to see.

"The laying of underwater mines was approved after the Administration considered and rejected a much greater expansion of the covert war late last year," reporters Bob Woodward and Fred Hiatt stated in their lead story last week in *The Washington Post.* In fact, the "limited" mining strategy was not covert at all. C.I.A. ships lolled in the sea just outside the twelve-mile limit while *contra* commandos made their forays into the harbors. Only the willfully

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blind (Republican senators and a few fallen Democrats) could overlook the evidence of blatant, illegal warmaking.

Even if the United States doesn't succeed in depriving the World Court of jurisdiction (Nicaragua is contesting the U.S. position, with Harvard law professor Abram Chayes as its chief counsel), it is unlikely that the international lawyers in The Hague will be able to deter Reagan's actions. World bodies have a way of letting great powers get away with murder. Usually the World Court (and the United Nations, for that matter) skirts the serious issues of international politics. It is, after all, an entirely voluntary institution. President Truman announced U.S. adherence to the Court in 1946, with the proviso that it could withdraw at any time upon six months' notice. Such a condition is actually unnecessary; many nations, including France, Italy, West Germany, Spain and the Soviet Union, have removed themselves without such a waiting period in sticky situations. But to keep within the letter of Truman's proviso, the State Department announced last week that it was merely "suspending" its adherence. Such diplomatic sophistry makes the whole World Court process problematic at best.

The political implications of Reagan's action, however, are more interesting and more significant than the legal ramifications. Nicaragua is severely circumscribed in its ability to withstand the U.S. military assault, even at the level of random terrorism and hit-or-miss murder now practiced by the C.I.A. and its surrogates. Nicaragua gets some Soviet small arms, the promise of French mine-sweeping, and meager supplies from its few friends who have not surrendered to Reagan's bullying. The United States, on the other hand, pours millions into the war, no matter what Congress votes. It has turned Honduras into a massive military base. For the first time, right-wing Cubans are being used, on Nicaragua's southern border, to replace defeated Somocistas.

On the diplomatic front, however, the Sandinistas have some leverage. Simply by bringing its case to the World Court, Nicaragua can rally support—not only in the Third World but also in Western Europe, where President Reagan is perceived as a ruthless cowboy who is risking a major conflagration in Central America, and perhaps beyond, to prove an ideological point.

It is a crucial time for Nicaragua. If Reagan is not stopped, he will surely feel free to move decisively to destroy the revolution there and the ones in progress throughout the region. Woodward and Hiatt reported that Administration officials see the mining operations as part of a "holding action" until political conditions in the United States permit an all-out offensive. The time for that would ripen after November 6 if Reagan is re-elected.

No historical analogy is perfect, but the situation in Central America has sinister resonances of the state of affairs in the summer of 1964, when Lyndon Johnson was preparing his postelection escalation in Vietnam. The vote in Congress for money to make war in Central America recalls the vote on Johnson's Tonkin Gulf resolution. There's still time for the House to remember its ghastly error of twenty years ago, and to stop the next war before it's too late.

Poli-Scientism

We have before us, friends, two items that say much about the state of the political science profession today. Exhibit A is a book-shaped object—indeed, a book: to wit, *The Power to Lead*, by James MacGregor Burns, professor of government at Williams College, author of *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* and *Roosevelt: Soldier of Freedom* and, not incidentally, onetime candidate for Congress. Recently we had lunch with Burns in a baronial private dining room at a midtown Manhattan club, along with several political journalists of the thoughtful, book-writing tribe. The discussion ranged over Burns's diagnosis of the ills afflicting the American political system and his prescriptions for curing them. The galaxy of pundits did not offer observations more momentous than what one would expect at a similar gathering of *Nation* readers, but it was exhilarating to hear political speculations that aspired beyond next Tuesday's primary.

One of the lumps on the body politic that Burns palpates in his book is rampant voter apathy. He traces its etiology to the decline in party allegiance and the mediaization of the electoral process. But as Blair Clark discusses in our cover story this week, people are beginning to do something about the big turnoff through voter registration drives. Sponsoring one of those is Human Serve, which enlists social workers to advise their clients that getting to the polls might be one practical way to better their lives. The brains behind Human Serve are Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, activist academics whose scholarly insights on the political process have appeared in these pages [see "The New Age of Protest," April 17, 1982]. They are intellectuals *engagé*, in the long and honorable tradition. Whether such people run for Congress, organize the unenfranchised or write for *The Nation*, they add yeast to the political brew.

Piven, Cloward and Burns are, alas, exceptions. More representative of the prevailing activity in the profession is an article in the December 1983 *American Political Science Review* titled "A Downsian Spatial Model With Party Activism" (Exhibit B). The author proposes to elucidate "the decisions of individuals as they choose whether or not to become activists in one of two political parties," which sounds straightforward enough. But then we learn he proposes to do this with a "unidimensional spatial model," using the "by-now-standard Davis, Hinich, and Ordeshook (1970) formalization of Downs" and proceeding from an "activism calculus" through a "probabilistic formulation" to "such macrolevel questions as aggregate distributions and stability." With that, the reader is lost in a blinding snowstorm of mathematical symbols and abstruse Einsteinian equations. Probably no one will understand the point of the article except Davis, Hinich and Ordeshook—and even Ordeshook is not 100 percent sure.

For guidance on regenerating party activism, we must turn to the plain-English proposal in Burns's book. Specifically, he suggests: "Make the major parties more or-

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ganized, disciplined, programmatic, and principled so that they might offer meaningful alternatives to the voters, sustain their leadership in office, and pull the government together behind the winning platform." In the case of the Democrats, create "a principled party of the left." Now that's an idea you don't need a calculator to understand.

Frank Church

The sadness of the late Frank Church's career as a liberal Senator was the nature of his last spell in Congress, seeking, amid a tight re-election race, to placate the right by posturing over the Soviet brigade in Cuba and by reversing a commitment to SALT II. But such appeasement—futile as it turned out—should not obscure Church's great achievements of the 1970s, while chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and of the Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. (Here at *The Nation* we remember him, more parochially, as a contributor and as a speaker at a 1975 banquet we sponsored with *The Progressive*.)

Through the early and mid-1970s the subcommittee was one of the most potent investigative bodies of the postwar period. Seldom has Congressional muckraking yielded such explosive material. As a result of its work the American people learned the details of I.T.T.'s role in Chile and its involvement with the C.I.A., and about the chicanery of oil and arms corporations. The subcommittee's disclosures caused turmoil in Italy and Japan, where the Lockheed bribe scandal led to the downfall of the latter's most powerful politician, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

The Intelligence Committee's most famous disclosures concerned the still unplumbed depths of the C.I.A.'s participation in assassination plots against foreign leaders. Some think that amid the brandishing of poison pistols the committee missed its chance to end covert operations once and for all. Instead its mementos are the committees that monitor C.I.A. activity and thus implicate—in both the good and bad senses of that word—Congress in intelligence operations.

Unsurprisingly, the subcommittee on multinationals is no more. To look at the achievements of those two Church committees is to be reminded how far right Congress has traveled in a decade.

Torture on Trial

A recent decision in a Federal District Court has opened the way for Latin American exiles who were victims of government brutality to obtain direct legal redress from those governments. Last month a judge in Los Angeles ruled that Jose Siderman, an Argentine exile, could sue his government for human rights violations that occurred under the junta.

In two earlier cases, exiles were allowed to sue in U.S. courts for human rights abuses in which the governments of Paraguay and Chile were implicated. In the first, a doctor in Paraguay sued his son's murderer, a former police chief now living in the United States [see Eric Nadler, "Paraguay Torture in U.S. Courts," *The Nation*, May 8, 1982]. The father had examined his son's body and found evidence of extensive torture; he won a $10 million judgment. Paraguay of course ignored the judgment.

Lawyers representing the family of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier, who was murdered in Washington, D.C., by agents of the Pinochet regime, were more successful. They won $3 million in damages for their clients, and when the government of Chile refused to pay, the judge ordered that the U.S. assets of Chile's government-owned airline be put into receivership. The airline is appealing and had to post bond for the full amount plus $1 million in interest.

The Siderman case expands those precedents by enabling exiles to sue for human rights violations that took place in their native countries. Siderman, 65, demanded compensation for broken ribs and for convulsions induced by electric shock, which he suffered under torture shortly after the military coup in 1976. Judge Robert Takasugi ruled that Argentina had waived its sovereign immunity in U.S. courts when it signed several international human rights treaties. If Siderman prevails in his suit the judge will set the amount of damages, and Siderman's lawyers will begin looking for Argentine assets in the United States to seize. Although the junta is no longer in power, Siderman contends that many members of the military who committed human rights violations are still on active duty and that the current government must compensate victims of past wrongs.

Human rights lawyers say Takasugi's ruling creates a potent sanction against governments that engage in torture. Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights called it "an amazing decision." Michael Maggio, a lawyer who was involved in both the Letelier and the Paraguayan cases, said the decision was a major victory for human rights because "the real problem is in the system that stays in power through institutionalized torture." By attacking authoritarian regimes through their commercial ties to the United States, exiles can inflict serious damage.

As Judge Irving R. Kaufman wrote in the Paraguayan doctor's suit, "The torturer has become like the pirate or slave trader before him—*hostis humani generis*, an enemy of all mankind." He called his decision "a small but important step in the fulfillment of the ageless dream to free all people from violence."

WILLIAM GIRDNER

William Girdner is a writer for The Los Angeles Daily Journal, *a legal affairs newspaper.*

HARPER & ROW SUIT (CONT.)

The "Ford case" moves toward a final resolution. On April 3 Harper & Row and *Reader's Digest* petitioned the Supreme Court to review the Court of Appeals' ruling in our favor. The Court should announce its decision to hear or not to hear the case by July.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

This is a tale of two books. The first is *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*, by Gen. Alexander Haig. The second is *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & the Palestinians*, by Noam Chomsky.

Now, nobody has a higher opinion of Alexander Haig than I do. And I think that he is a homicidal buffoon. The reasoning of his book is too paltry for comment, but the evidence it contains makes the perfect reply to the President's press conference of April 4. On that date, Reagan took up and elaborated a theme that was first proposed in public by George Shultz and that has become a regular incantation from his aides. It's a simple theme: Congress should have no say in foreign policy unless it is to endorse the ideas of the Californian right. Criticism is, if not treason, at least disloyalty. Groping for a cheap metaphor that would fix the idea in the minds of the people, Reagan likened Congress to a committee of 535 people and suggested that this is too cumbersome a system for the delicate conduct of international relations.

It's been obvious for some time that Reagan believes democracy and public scrutiny are incompatible with his foreign policy. There is every reason to suspect that he's right, and some reason to suspect that his new line owes a lot to his new friend Henry Kissinger. But Haig's book shows, even on the kindest interpretation, how insane it is to entrust foreign relations to the coterie around the President. It is a group composed partly of sleepwalkers and partly of fanatics (a dangerous cocktail), and it is infinitely more unwieldy and capricious than Congress. Haig's description of the chaos and jealousy, the nastiness and the ignorance, recalls a Byzantine court on a bad day. The Falklands/Malvinas episode dissolved into a clumsy argument about which ally to betray. The Soviet natural gas pipeline dispute hardly deserves even to be called a fiasco. If one was a citizen of any Central American country, of whatever political coloration, the experience of reading the exchanges between Haig, Kirkpatrick, Clark, Meese, Baker and Weinberger would be enough to freeze *and* boil the blood. Who *are* those guys? Who told them they own the world? They hardly consulted Reagan, let alone Congress. How could our elected representatives do a worse job?

This is or ought to be a fairly simple case to make. On most foreign policy questions in the last fifteen years, from Bangladesh to Nicaragua, the members of Congress have been marginally more prudent and thoughtful than the executive. They have usually acted too little and too late, but if Reagan thinks that 535 legislators are too many, he is saying that he doesn't trust the democratic principle at all.

The difficulty with this consoling argument is that Reagan is being unfair and inaccurate as well as demagogic. Congress has generally granted him astonishing latitude and indulgence. In the case of his greatest blunder and crime—committing American ground forces to the Lebanese conflict—he had the legislative branch right behind him. Liberals may now deplore his vulgar "stab in the back" argument, but that goes to show how amnesic liberals can be. When the United States went soldiering in Beirut, it did so not as the result of a smelly Kissinger-type deception but in full view of the voters, most of whose representatives gave Reagan what he wanted by way of public, patriotic gore.

This brings me to Professor Chomsky's book. Its main purpose is to expose the assumptions that lay behind "Operation Peace for Galilee" and to show that the horror of that operation was not incidental to it but essential. It succeeds admirably well in the task. It also succeeds in revealing U.S. complicity in the dismemberment of Lebanon, U.S. collusion in the wild plans of Begin and Sharon and U.S. collaboration with the desperadoes of the Phalange, sometimes misleadingly called "the Christians." Chomsky has been through Israeli sources with great thoroughness, and many of his inductions and deductions have since been confirmed by Ze'ev Schiff, the military correspondent for *Ha'aretz*, in his forthcoming book, *Israel's Lebanon War*. From those accounts it is clear that the Reagan Administration was a prime cause of the problem it purported to solve—the fragmentation of Lebanese society and authority. The United States encouraged Israel's attack on Syria, which was presumed to have no rights in Lebanon, and its attempt to annihilate the Palestinians (ditto). The uprooting of the southern Lebanese Shiites and their concentration in Beirut was a consequence of this lethal enterprise. Having achieved all this, the Administration made a peace (the May 17 agreement) between those who had designed the war—Israel, the Phalange and itself—and blamed Congress when the agreement didn't work out. Peace agreements should be made between enemies not allies, and the luckless marines were sent to police those who had been excluded from a phony Pax Americana.

I have two questions. First, was there ever a government less fit to conduct foreign policy and less entitled to blame its failures on the democratic process? Second, why is it that a book by Noam Chomsky on the great issue of the day, published at the nadir of America's Lebanese engagement (South End Press, November 1983), cannot get itself reviewed? Not even a hostile notice has appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic* or the mighty *Nation*. If the political culture decides to shield itself from books like Chomsky's, it will deserve the alternating rule of piracy and incompetence it now enjoys.

* * *

Debategate Update: In the motion for summary judgment filed by Professors John Banzhaf and Peter Meyers, which calls for the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate the theft of Presidential and other state papers, the ten days allowed by the U.S. District Court elapsed on April 9. Judge Harold Greene will hear the case on April 27, which is likely to be in the same week that Representative Donald Albosta delivers his report on the subject to Congress. The Justice Department petitioned for a longer postponement. Why?

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CALVIN TRILLIN

Looking for ways to ease my mind about signs that the danger of nuclear war is increasing, I stumbled across one comforting thought: maybe the Russian missiles won't work. I realize that the possibility of a simple malfunction is a thin reed upon which to hang the survival of the species. Still, it's what I have for now, and I'm going with it. I have adopted it as my new official position on the entire nuclear arms issue. It may sound like a fallback position, but as it happens, I have already fallen back. Before I adopted my new position on the issue of nuclear arms I had a rather complicated position which, stated in its simplest terms, was as follows: "I'd rather not think about it."

I owe my new position to a passage I read in an interesting piece on the arms race by Thomas Powers in *The Atlantic* a couple months ago. "Don't judge Russian missiles by your TV set," Powers was told in Moscow after he happened to mention to one of the people he was interviewing that the television set in his hotel room didn't work. "Some things we *can* do." Powers can believe that if he wants to. I'd rather not. I prefer to believe that the Russian missiles won't work because their television sets don't work.

Why didn't I think of this years ago? I have certainly read enough about the shoddiness of goods produced by Soviet industry—overcoats whose sleeves fall off now and then, television sets permanently tuned to the all-snow channel, refrigerators destined to become the only thing in a Moscow apartment that is never cold. I have read about those Russian tractor factories where vodka-sodden workers fulfill their monthly quota in a frantic last-minute push that can succeed only if they attach the transmissions with Scotch tape. Why have I always taken it for granted that those goofballs would be so good at annihilating continents?

Naturally, my new official position came equipped with what the nuclear strategists call a scenario. It went like this: When the nuclear exchange finally comes, all the Russian missiles fizzle on their launching pads except one, which destroys Punta del Este, Uruguay. Our missiles destroy Russia. The second part of the scenario was based on easily obtainable and incontrovertible data concerning the operating efficiency of television sets in American hotel rooms. Television sets in American hotel rooms work. Considering what's shown on them, you might argue that they work to a fault—but they work.

When I first adopted my new official position, I was often asked if I felt guilty that the Russians would be destroyed in a nuclear exchange while we survived without a scratch, and I often answered, "Not as guilty as you might think." After all, I never claimed that this was anything but a fallback position. Also, I was relieved to have some progress to report to the fellow we call Harold the Committed, who is constantly asking me if I really want to see civilization as we know it destroyed in a nuclear holocaust.

"I think I've got some good news on that front, Hal the C," I said, the next time he asked. "Apparently Tom Powers could only get the snow channel in Moscow, plus one channel where the vertical was totally out of whack."

Harold the Committed seemed unable to make the connection, but I was certain that the implications of the video efficiency gap would not be lost on a Russian counterpart of Thomas Powers—a journalist named, say, Raskolnikov, who comes to America to do interviews for a piece on nuclear arms. Switching on the television set in his Washington hotel room in the hope of seeing some snow that might bring back memories of his boyhood in the heroic Siberian settlement of Yakutsk Molymsk, he is astonished to find an absolutely clear picture on sixteen channels. He is glued to the set. He watches two morning news programs. He watches *Donahue*. He watches *Sesame Street*. He watches *Gilligan's Island* reruns. He watches the soaps. Late in the afternoon, as he is watching a closed-circuit hotel channel on shopping opportunities in Alexandria, the telephone rings. It's the Pentagon general Raskolnikov was supposed to interview six hours earlier. Raskolnikov rushes to the Pentagon, bursting with stories of the magic box in his hotel room.

"They work like a charm, Mr. Raskolnikov," the general says. "Out at the house, I have my twenty-six-incher hooked up to one of those satellite dishes, and get a hundred and twenty-eight channels, clear as a bell. I get restless at 4 in the morning, I watch the rugby from Melbourne. I'm glad you noticed how well that little mother works."

"What I noticed," Raskolnikov says, "is that it was made in Japan."

Well, yes, there's that. The television sets that work so well are made in Japan. The general in the Pentagon cautions Raskolnikov against judging America's technological capabilities by the fact that our television sets have to be imported from Japan. He tells Raskolnikov that through state-of-the-art technology and a finely meshed military chain of command, we could annihilate Russia with the flick of a switch. Raskolnikov can believe it if he wants to. Can any American who has ever served in the Army or owned a car made in Detroit believe it? I'd rather not believe it. Who wants to feel even a little guilty about destroying Russia while it's only knocking off Punta del Este?

On that day of days, according to my revised scenario, the politicians order the missiles fired at the enemy, but then nothing much happens. The Russian commander hesitates in giving the signal because the left arm of his overcoat has just fallen off, and during the delay, tractor transmissions drop out of the missiles. Our guys are missing two D-size batteries necessary for flicking the switch that activates our finely meshed chain of command, and the second lieutenant authorized to procure replacements is off waxing his GTO. In a couple hours, it's all over. That is, it's all over but it's not *all over*. The Russians get a stiff note from Uruguay. Otherwise, the world is as it was. It will remain that way, according to my analysis, until one side or the other gets a Japanese-made missile.

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ARTICLES.

THE POLITICS OF EARTH

A Green Party—It Can Happen Here

CHARLENE SPRETNAK

Green movements are flourishing in nearly every country in Western Europe, as well as in Japan, Canada and Australia. In preparation for the European Parliament election of June 14-17, the Green parties in Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Sweden and West Germany have formed the European Greens and have hammered out a platform on which candidates in each of those countries will campaign.* The Green Party in West Germany has weathered various internal crises, and in the March 25 Baden-Württemberg state election, it increased its share of the vote to 8 percent (up from 5.3 percent in 1980) statewide and to a remarkable 21 percent (up from 15 percent) in the university town of Tübingen.

As Green politics—which proclaims, "We are neither left nor right; we are in front"—continues to accumulate electoral victories in Europe, one of the most intriguing political topics this spring is whether it can grow in America. After all, three of the movement's basic principles—ecological wisdom, grass-roots democracy and nonviolence—were adopted from citizens' movements in the United States.

Before considering the prospects for the new politics on this side of the ocean, the meaning of "Green" must be understood. The largely sensationalist U.S. media coverage of the West German Greens has often labeled them "romantic far leftists." (What does not make news is the fact that the Green Party is made up of a number of factions—the "ecological reformists," the "value conservatives" and the "ecolibertarians"—as well as various peace movement activists, environmentalists and former members of leftist and Marxist groups.) Because of the facile labels in the press, Americans may incorrectly deduce that "Green" means socialist politics with some trendy environmentalism grafted on, similar to what passes for Green politics in the Citizens Party.

But a more comprehensive world view is involved. Rather than accept the fragmentary liberal/left or conservative analyses of society's problems, Green politics begins by recognizing that the global problems threatening human survival are facets of an overriding systemic crisis. Every aspect of our lives—health and livelihood, the quality of the environment, social interaction, economic conditions, technology, politics and government—is, in the ecological* view, profoundly interconnected and dynamic. Hence, the new politics stresses systemic thinking and is called "new-paradigm politics" to distinguish it from mechanistic, static modes of analysis.

Green politics emphasizes the interdependence of all phenomena, as well as the embeddedness of individuals and societies in the cyclical processes of nature. It addresses the unjust and destructive dynamics of patriarchy. It calls for social responsibility and a sound, sustainable economic system which is ecological, decentralized and equitable, and which comprises flexible institutions. It seeks to give people significant control over their lives. In advocating a cooperative world order, Green politics rejects all forms of exploitation. It is committed to nonviolence. It encourages a rich cultural life which respects the pluralism within a society, and it honors spiritual growth. Green politics departs from humanistic political philosophies by rejecting an anthropocentric orientation: humans are not the center of the natural world, merely a part of it.

It is essential that Green ideas enter the political debate in the United States. The Democratic and Republican Parties prescribe outdated and irrelevant remedies to solve our burgeoning problems. Because they are unable to respond effectively to changing conditions such as the end of the fossil fuel age and the growth of global interdependence, they are leading us toward disaster. As the quality of life in America declines and the hardships in the Third World increase, those parties are losing credibility. Ronald Reagan was elected President by only 27 percent of the eligible voters; hopelessness and apathy silenced a near majority. Behind the rhetoric of both parties it is apparent that their chief function is to remain nonideological, to diffuse dissent rather than to stand for a coherent program.

If Green politics is to take hold in this country, its supporters must first develop a coherent world view, which gives rise to a set of values and ethics. Those will in turn lead to a political analysis (for example, of the power relationships between corporations, the military, government, the unions and the professions) from which will emerge specific strategies and programs. This view must then be articulated effectively and the public's response mobilized. Finally, such a politics must be able to effect change—within or outside the electoral system, or both.

The power of Green politics lies at the grass-roots level,

* The Green Party of West Germany has not yet officially joined the European Greens, although it has cooperated during the past year in developing a platform. The West German Greens are insisting that the European Greens include the new leftist coalition in the Netherlands, the "Green Progressive Accord," which is composed of the Dutch Communist Party, the Pacifist Socialist Party, the Dutch Radical Party and the "Green Platform." There is also a new Green party in the Netherlands, De Groenen.

* In Green politics, the term "ecological" means holistic, from the Greek *holos* (whole), which refers to an understanding of reality as a web of interdependent systems, each of which is both a whole system itself and a part of other systems.

Charlene Spretnak is co-author, with Fritjof Capra, of Green Politics: The Global Promise, *published this month by E. P. Dutton. This article is excerpted from that book.*

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but a national organization is also necessary to encourage and sustain the people involved and to attract media attention. It could take five possible forms: a network, a movement, a major-party-oriented caucus within a movement, a national-membership caucus instead of a movement, or a party. For reasons Fritjof Capra and I discuss in our book, we believe that the soundest starting point is a well-organized grass-roots national movement that develops a coherent view and comprehensive programs to present to lawmakers at all levels and to the public. It should respect local and regional autonomy and should have only as much national coordination as is necessary to make it a potent element in American politics.

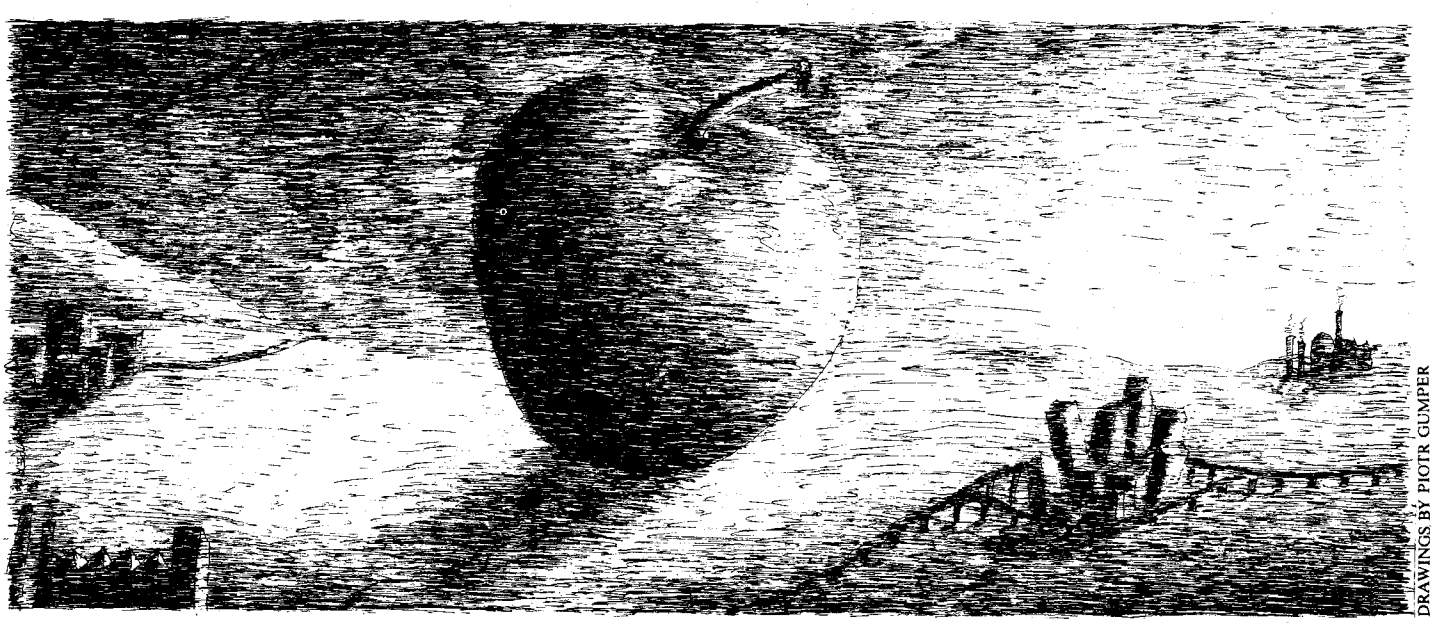
I have designed a possible five-strata organization for a Green movement: local, bioregional, state, macroregional and national. Three are familiar, but the concept of regionalism has been quietly emerging—from its long but dormant role in American history—as a major focus in an "ecodecentralist" politics, which seeks to recover political autonomy from mega-scale institutions to the bioregional level. Bioregionalism has a deeper meaning than mere localism; it is more akin to the Native American sense of abiding respect for the natural forces and surrounding life forms, the survival of which we now understand to be essential to our own. Peter Berg, director of the Planet Drum Foundation, defines a bioregion as both a geographical terrain and a terrain of consciousness, both a place and the ideas that have developed about how to live in that place. In *Reinhabiting a Separate Country*, he wrote:

> A bioregion can be determined initially by use of climatology, physiography, animal and plant geography, natural history, and other descriptive natural sciences. The boundaries of a bioregion are best described by people who have lived within it, through human recognition of the realities of living in place. All life on the planet is interconnected in a few obvious ways and in many more that remain barely explored. But there is a distinct resonance among living things and the factors which influence them that occurs specifically within each separate place on the planet. Discovering and describing that resonance is a way to describe a bioregion.

To date, at least twelve bioregional congresses have been formed, such as those of the Great Lakes region, New York State and the Ocooch Mountains of southwestern Wisconsin. Scores of smaller groups are also active throughout North America: for example, in the Slocan Valley in British Columbia, the Rio Grande region, the Sonora Desert in Arizona, the Ohio River Basin, Cape Cod, the High Plains of Wyoming, the Kansas River watershed and the Hudson River Valley. The first continental gathering of bioregionalists, the North American Bioregional Congress, will be held near Kansas City, Missouri, in May. It is being coordinated by David Haenke, of the Ozark Area Community Congress, along with a council of Green-oriented activists.

Ecodecentralists offer bioregions as the answer to the question, Decentralize to what? They want people to see where our water, our food, our energy and our products come from and to understand the natural carrying capacity of an area in order to develop an economy in balance with the ecosystems and to minimize dependence on imported food and fuel. (The carrying capacity of an area is the number of people that can be sustained there without destroying the native ecosystems.) Many bioregionalists, most notably those at the Center for Studies in Food Self-Sufficiency in Burlington, Vermont, and the late Peter van Dresser, whose book *Development on a Human Scale* is a pioneering work, have conducted research on economic self-sufficiency.

The concept of macroregionalism reached a broad audience through Joel Garreau's book *The Nine Nations of North America*, and now Madison Avenue designs advertising campaigns stressing regional themes and speech patterns. However, bioregionalists dismiss Garreau's divisions as being rooted in old-style mechanistic thinking and lacking a sense of the lessons that humans can draw from the underlying relatedness of living things. Using the bioregionalists' concept of soft borders (the areas of interaction, or transitional zones, that separate bioregions), North America could be divided into macroregions such as the northeastern woodlands, the Appalachian highlands and the



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Piedmont, the southeastern coastal plain, the Florida and Louisiana coastal areas, the Great Lakes region, the prairies, the Ozark highlands, the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountain range, the Great Basin along the Mexican-American border and the northern Pacific area. These are merely suggestions; a Green movement would generate its own macroregional structure.

How bioregionalism could be applied to government is a favorite topic among its advocates. Some envision a quite radically decentralized future. Like the West German Greens, they consider the nation-state inherently dangerous, aggressive and ineffective. They maintain that the association of security with bigness, which is ingrained in the collective consciousness of our patriarchal cultures, must be discarded, since it has led to big exploitation, big wars and big suffering. A representative of that position is Kirkpatrick Sale, who has been researching bioregionalism for his next book, *Centrifugal Force: The Bioregional Future*. He believes that many of the crises we face are the result of ignoring bioregional realities. In the Fall 1983 newsletter of the E.F. Schumacher Society of America, Sale expressed a position that closely parallels the philosophy of the West German Greens:

> We finally comprehend that if there is to be salvation for this world, it will come through the development of bioregions into fully empowered, politically autonomous, economically self-sufficient social units in which bioregional citizens understand, and control, the decisions that affect their lives.

At all five regional levels the Green movement could organize study groups to gather information, discuss ideas and formulate policies. Applying the holistic world view entails asking fundamental and interrelated questions currently absent from the political dialogue in America—in particular, questions of sustainability and long-term goals. We are recklessly living off future generations, abiding by irresponsible policies because to our Presidents the "future" means the next four or eight years; to our business community it means the next few financial quarters; to our labor unions, the next contract term; and to most people, the next decade or two. A Green perspective encourages finding our place in the ecosystems, realizing that our existence is predicated on the continuity of interdependent living species. If we bankrupt those systems through greed and stupidity, we destroy the life supports for ourselves and our descendants, thereby severing the chain of generations spanning millions of years.

With sustainability as the key to their proposals, the various Green study groups would formulate public policy statements. I do not attempt such an ambitious task here; rather, I wish to suggest Green responses to several current issues: energy, employment, national security and conversion of the arms industry, health care and school prayer. The examples will illustrate three essential elements of the Green approach. First, a wealth of Green-oriented ideas have already been circulated; they can be tapped and synthesized in solving our problems creatively. Second, measures must be ecologically sound and socially responsible; they must, in short, have a future. Third, one cannot successfully address particular problems—such as the danger of the arms race, the enormous defense budget or the unemployment problem linked to conversion—without understanding the ways they are related.

§ *Energy*. The United States contains 5 percent of the world's population and uses approximately 30 percent of its energy. Our enormously powerful and expensive military exists, as Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger reminded Congress in his annual report for fiscal 1984, not only to protect us but "to protect access to foreign markets and overseas resources." Once multinational corporations expropriate those resources, usually on terms that cause extended hardship in the Third World, they produce planned obsolescence; toxic byproducts; polluted air, soil and water; and manipulative advertising campaigns to convince us that the quality of American life has everything to do with having and little to do with being. They are assisted by big labor unions, which seldom look beyond the immediate issues of wages and growth.

Do we need to be the energy hogs of the global community—or could we drastically reduce our consumption with some rational planning and a little sacrifice? According to Arthur Rosenfeld, a physicist with the American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy, the United States could practically export oil if it adopted a policy to retrofit buildings with energy-saving devices and manufacture energy-efficient cars and large appliances, none of which would require Spartan living. He emphasizes that our televisions, blenders, hair dryers and so forth use little compared with the energy that escapes through our roofs and walls. Hunter and Amory Lovins, of the Rocky Mountain Institute, have determined that economically justifiable uses of electricity, an extremely expensive form of energy, amount to only 8 percent of all delivered energy in the United States, as in most industrial nations. Since existing power stations are able to supply that 8 percent twice over, why do Democratic and Republican Administrations alike lead us down the "hard energy path" lined with nuclear reactors, coal plants, offshore oil rigs, expanded strip mines and synthetic-fuel projects? Why has government-supported research on the soft energy path (passive and active solar heating, passive cooling, small hydrodams, wind power, solar cells, cogeneration, liquid fuels from farm and forestry wastes, and more efficient energy use) nearly ground to a halt? Why are there few tax incentives and low-interest loans to encourage the utilization of such sources? Why are engineering colleges training our future technocrats only to follow the hard energy path as if there were no tomorrow? And why do we, the technopeasants in the voting booths, go along with such irrational policies when we know that corporate campaign contributions and influence are behind them? Our country could realize enormous savings if the renewable resource, resilient technologies were not handicapped in the market by the huge Federal subsidies and favorable policies for nuclear power and fossil fuels.

§ *Employment*. It has been estimated that 40 percent of the white-collar jobs in this country could be eliminated by computerization, and the current push to "reindustrialize"

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America will probably encourage more automation. Even if everyone worked half time at the same pay while machines performed most of the production and business operations, many people would develop serious personal problems. Self-esteem and identity are inextricably intertwined with the job ethic in American culture—especially among men, who often dread retirement.

It is time to encourage an ethic of ecology and self-realization. There will always be plenty of work to be done in an ecodecentralized, nonexploitative society: community service to increase direct control of numerous activities and decrease government bureaucracy, lifelong education, care of our elderly, care and schooling of young children, bartering of goods and services, operation of neighborhood food and other cooperatives and participatory cultural programs. Why should any of that work be devalued if it is not monetarized as a job? Human and ecological values should be expressed in the inevitable restructuring of work. We need not cling to the gross national product as our sole measure of well-being, rewarding a shrinking pool of job-holders and letting everyone else become unproductive dependents of the government.

§ *National Security.* Threats to our security do exist in this world, yet the U.S. government could adopt a policy that includes restructuring the military to rely more on human power than on firepower and more on simple weapons than on complex, high-tech devices, as James Fallows suggests in *National Defense.* Defense appropriations, which now consume nearly one-third of the budget ($264 billion in 1984), could be cut by 40 percent through reducing the dangerous and interventionist elements of U.S. forces, as the Boston Study Group indicates in *Winding Down: The Price of Defense.* In addition, we could conduct serious negotiations with the Soviet Union for bilateral reductions of nuclear weapons and urge other nations to join us in stabilizing the Third World by giving 1 percent of our G.N.P. directly to citizen-controlled development programs. We could also conduct studies on social defense,* on the eventual establishment of zones throughout the world that would have only defensive weapons and on scenarios for achieving and maintaining a demilitarized world.

In *Toward An Alternative Security System*, Robert Johansen delineates seven policy models for a global system: a nuclear-war fighting capability, a policy of mutually assured destruction, a minimum deterrence posture, a defensive weapons system, a peacekeeping federation, defense through civilian resistance and a policy of global security. The last harmonizes with Green politics, as it incorporates some of the features of conventional defense, a peacekeeping federation and social defense but emphasizes the fact that no one country in the increasingly interdependent global community can be secure unless every country is secure. The model stresses long-term interests over short-term advantages and advocates positive incentives rather than

* Social defense protects a population from foreign or internal attack through active nonviolent resistance and noncooperation. It includes large-scale symbolic actions, economic boycotts by consumers and producers, strikes, deliberate inefficiency on the job and numerous other forms of noncompliance by all sectors of society.

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military threats to influence other nations' security policies. It incorporates human rights so that securing the basic rights and needs of all people becomes as important a guideline in decision-making as securing the institutions of the state. Since the nuclear and environmental policies of "foreign" governments affect each of us, this model teaches that rather than "my" and "their" governments, the realistic view considers "my immediate" and "my more distant" governments. Finally, it shifts the most vital line of defense away from new nuclear weapons toward a new code of international conduct to restrict the use of military power.

With such a security policy, many people now developing and building weapons would not be needed. The Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project in Mountain View, California, estimates that 3 million jobs are linked to defense contracts, so the displacement from a shrinking arms competition would be sizable. The left's traditional response to such a situation is to propose huge government-supported work programs, while the right would have those workers fend for themselves in the "free" market. Conversion specialists offer an alternative. They envision defense-oriented businesses developing "alternative use planning" by joint committees of workers and management. They discuss switching from the production of weapons to that of civilian items such as light-rail vehicles, commuter aircraft and alternative-energy systems. If the Federal government offered the same kinds of financial inducements—loans, tax breaks and contracts—to converted companies as it does to defense-oriented companies, conversion would flourish. A Green perspective would make those financial incentives dependent on certain criteria: a new product or service would have to be socially necessary; production would cause minimal damage to the environment; distribution would be limited largely to the macroregion and adjacent ones (to avoid the demands of long-distance transportation and fuel); the business would be democratically operated and at least partially employee-owned; and the scale of the operation would be appropriate, that is, no larger than what would benefit the people affected.

A Green response to the problem of conversion incorporates awareness not only of ecological balance and socially responsible production but also of the dignity and creativity of workers. Therefore, an auxiliary conversion program should be available for those weapons makers who wish to leave their old firms and develop their own businesses. Since the defense industry provides no products or services to sell to society, the workers involved—scientists, engineers, managers, secretaries, steelworkers and assembly line workers—are actually receiving Federal grants as their salaries. Those salary grants could be continued during a transition period of perhaps three years, as part of a voluntary program through which workers, attending seminars, workshops or courses on nonexploitative and ecologically wise business practices, would be encouraged to develop new businesses; study of successful and failed businesses in their area would be emphasized. Some people would take job-training courses or enter college degree programs. Some might want to form cooperatives or neighborhood cottage industries, while others would create more technological enterprises. Once a group had developed a comprehensive plan for the first several years of operation, it could apply to the government for a low-interest seed loan. Among the criteria for judging the proposals would be the considerations cited above. The program would include information-sharing networks for people developing and operating similar types of businesses. Such a flowering of self-organized, self-determined enterprises across the country would create jobs for more than the former weapons makers because businesses utilize numerous service operations. In addition, small companies tend to be labor intensive.

Those suggestions are merely preliminary and would require a great deal of development, but they do address the essential issue, largely overlooked by the peace movement, that reducing the number of armaments—even temporarily through a freeze on research and production—will never come about without creative, sound programs for conversion. No American President is going to agree to any proposal in Geneva or in Congress that would substantially increase the unemployment rolls. If we are serious about de-escalating the arms race, every community with a defense contractor should begin developing proposals for partial or full conversion. If we are equally serious about sustaining life on Earth, those proposals must be ecologically sound and socially responsible.

§ *Health Care.* Do we want government-supported and/or private schemes that merely increase everyone's access to mechanistic, invasive, dehumanizing medical practices—or shall we emphasize a holistic model that takes into account the interactions and self-organizing dynamics of the body and the mind? Studies have demonstrated that many symptoms of disease are indeed expressions of dis-ease, negative states of mind relating to one's self-image. For instance, relationships with family and friends have been established as an important factor in health: disconnected or partially isolated people are less healthy statistically. Often illness is manifested, consciously or unconsciously, as an escape route from stressful, unpleasant situations (see *Getting Well Again*, by Carl Simonton, Stephanie Matthews Simonton and James Creighton). With the striking disproportion between the cost and the effectiveness of modern medicine, would it not be wise to emphasize wellness and healthy life styles through education and promotion programs?

A Green response to the holistic medicine movement would encourage it to avoid blaming the victim in analyzing illness and to give proper weight to *all* the factors that contribute to ill health: not only inner dynamics but also environmental factors (such as exposure to lead, asbestos or toxic chemicals), employment conditions (such as stressful, tedious or demeaning tasks) and social phenomena (such as competitive situations, impersonal city life and the threat of nuclear holocaust). A Green movement would promote a systems view of health, defining health as well-being resulting from a dynamic balance that involves the physical and psychological aspects of the organism as well as its interactions with its natural and social environment (see the

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chapter "Wholeness and Health," in *The Turning Point*, by Fritjof Capra).

The poisoning of the biosphere has been so extensive that even wisdom about the self-organizing and self-healing powers of the body will not preclude the need for a great deal of medical care in the future. A Green perspective would preserve those sensible treatments that have been developed by conventional medicine but would integrate them into a larger framework of holistic health care and healing that actively involves the patient. That framework would allow access to a range of therapeutic techniques, such as acupuncture and homeopathy, that have long and successful traditions in other countries. The American Council of Life Insurance, hardly a radical group, published a report in 1980 predicting that in fifty years "osteopaths, acupuncturists, massage therapists, and ethnic healers" will have roughly the same status and earnings as the traditionally trained allopathic doctors.

Perhaps the most immediate question in health care is, How shall we pay for it? Some states and communities have taken steps toward a more balanced, less profit-hungry system; in 1983 California initiated a reform of the medical and insurance systems. Hard decisions lie ahead: Should a large sum of money be spent on one coronary operation or on providing good primary care to a great number of people? In addition, it is likely that this country will experience an increase in degenerative diseases such as hypertension, arteriosclerosis, cancer and many geriatric ailments significantly related to environmental stress factors. A Green perspective would encourage comprehensive programs of health care—"package plans" which integrate biological, psychological, social and environmental approaches to diagnosis and healing.

§ *Prayer.* Is the Green respect for spiritual values served by prayer in the schools? Only if it honors the pluralism of the American tradition. A Gallup poll in September 1983 found that 81 percent of the public favors school prayer. The percentage would not be so high if one particular kind of prayer was imposed. Most people want to desecularize our culture and let a rich spiritual life grow. Why not have our children begin their school day with five minutes of silence, which they could pass in contemplation and, if they wished, in offering a prayer to God, Goddess, the cosmos or their favorite tree? And why have them sit in isolation during those moments? If they stood in a circle, joined hands and closed their eyes, they might experience a "body parable" of our essential unity—a relevant lesson from preschool through graduate seminars.

A Green movement would address far more issues than this brief sampling suggests. It might initiate a constitutional amendment to institute a proportional system of representation, as in West Germany. The requirement that a party must get at least 5 percent of the vote to qualify would keep fringe groups out of government but allow a great deal of creative political thought, which is not currently forthcoming from the major parties.

In addition to developing positions on various issues, a Green movement would have to reach agreement on key

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principles, such as the extremely complex matter of decentralization. Some Green-oriented thinkers in America are strict, almost absolutist decentralists. They maintain that the general lack of corruption in the Federal government would prevail at local levels if government there was made the focus of our system. Centralists, on the other hand, insist that impartial inspections and investigations, protection of civil rights, control of acid rain, equitable allocation of resources and countless other matters must be handled by a strong Federal government. It is likely that a Green movement would draw on both of those perspectives in adopting a holistic approach: appropriate governance. Green politics in this country would support a great deal of decentralizing in government, economic planning and energy production. At the same time it might support accountable, responsive Federal power to safeguard the shared values of an ecological, nonexploitative society. For instance, the Federal government would determine air pollution standards beyond which serious diseases result but would leave each state to determine the means of compliance.

The decentralism of the Reagan Administration is a farce because it demands billions of dollars from taxpayers to feed a bloated defense budget and then sends a relatively small amount of tax dollars back to the states, leaving them unable to address their problems adequately. In addition, the Federal government has persistently increased its proportion of tax revenues from sources that overlap with those of cities and states: the gasoline tax is one example. Much tax money allocated for the poor goes instead to intermediary bureaucracies, causing many to wonder whether direct grants to poor families, administered at the state or local level, might not be more efficient. The tensions between the desire for local and regional autonomy and the reality of interdependence are but one conflict a Green movement would have to reconcile creatively. Mark Satin, editor of *New Options*, suggests that people are decentralists in their hearts but centralists in their heads. Like the West German Greens, who call for a global federation to address issues of ecological balance and peace, he feels, "We'll always need a referee."

The central image of Green politics is a vast web of autonomous but cooperating small-scale groups organized according to municipalities, watersheds and bioregions. Ecological politics already has a firm foundation in this country in the bioregional movement, but the range of Green politics extends beyond that. Through a survey and much correspondence, Fritjof Capra and I have identified 100 representative Green-oriented organizations. They are working for comprehensive social change in a beyond-left-and-right, ecological context, and their combined membership exceeds 2 million. If a Green movement is to grow in the United States, many of the organizers will probably come from those groups as well as from the bioregional movement. In fact, interest in building a Green movement is running so high in many parts of the country that tentative plans are being made for a founding convention in late 1984 or early 1985. (Contact: Green Movement, c/o *New Options*, P.O. Box 19324, Washington, D.C. 20036.)

However, neither the bioregional continental congress in May nor the prospective founding convention is the hot news in American Green politics this year. Nor is it speculation that Gary Hart's "new ideas" may turn out to be surprisingly Green (or as Green as suits his purposes) as he reveals them in the coming months. Rather, the political phenomenon of greatest import is the energy being invested in developing Green politics at the local level across the continent as more and more information about Green options is shared, adapted and adopted. It is through the local and bioregional groups that North America has begun to join the regionalized global community that is ecologically wise, nonexploitative and spiritually grounded. □

AFTER THE GENERALS IN TURKEY

The High Price Of 'Stability'

MEHMET DEMIR AND HASAN CELIK

In Turkey's March 25 municipal elections an overwhelming majority of the electorate repudiated the military junta headed by President Kenan Evren, which took power in a September 1980 coup. Most of the political parties participated. The regime had permitted fifteen parties to form last year prior to the general elections that November but then barred all but three—the Motherland Party and two parties sponsored by the junta—from taking part. The voters then rejected the candidates of the military-backed Nationalist Democracy and the Populist Parties and elected Turgut Ozal Prime Minister, the first civilian to hold the office since Suleyman Demirel was ousted in 1980.

In last month's elections, the Motherland Party won 41 percent of the total vote, the Social Democracy Party came in second, with 24 percent, followed by the True Path Party, with about 14 percent—all but wiping the two military-backed parties off the political map. The Nationalist Democracy Party, which is led by a retired general, received approximately 7 percent of the vote. The Populist Party, which the generals had created to serve as a sort of loyal opposition, garnered less than 8 percent.

The setback in November had forced the generals to withdraw their ban on the new parties, and the March results will no doubt accelerate the trend toward democracy. But as long as the authoritarian political structure endures, it will be impossible to speak of a democratic Turkey.

When the military came to power four years ago it had three items on its agenda: ending political violence, which by the summer of 1980 was claiming twenty lives a day; salvaging a virtually bankrupt economy; and restructuring the

Mehmet Demir and Hasan Celik are the pseudonyms of Turkish activists living in the United States.

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parliamentary system to insure future "stability."

The harsh steps the generals took to deal with the political unrest and the economic crisis signaled their authoritarian bent. Under the guise of eradicating terrorism, the junta banned many trade unions, professional associations and other legitimate organizations, and sent thousands of their members to jail. The ferment of leftist protest on university campuses was quelled by arrests. Hundreds of teachers were forced to resign or were summarily fired. The passage of a Higher Education Act placed a council directly responsible to the junta in charge of all faculty appointments.

In 1980 the regime enforced a drastic austerity program based on the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund. The architect of the program was Turgut Ozal, then part of the regime (he resigned in 1982 after a falling out with the military). In an interview at the time with the financial journal *Euromoney* he boasted that Turkey was applying tougher measures than the I.M.F. had proposed. The effects of those policies on the beleaguered working class—depressed wages and reduced living standards—have been devastating. In the normal course of political events, Ozal might have been expected to suffer at the polls last November for his economic policies, but he represented the only alternative to military rule. When the wounds the regime has inflicted on the workers heal, their thoughts will turn to their economic plight, and the Prime Minister's stringent measures may rise up to haunt him.

Despite the blows dealt to the military leaders in both elections, their authoritarian structure remains firmly in place. General Evren, who led the coup, was elected President in a constitutional referendum in November 1982. Opposition groups criticized the referendum as spurious, since the Constitution the voters were "approving" specifies a seven-year term for Evren and no opposing candidates were permitted to run. Moreover, voting was mandatory and criticism of the Constitution was prohibited by a junta edict.

The Constitution gives the president extraordinary powers, including control of the judiciary, and weakens the Turkish National Assembly. Before handing over power to Ozal's government last year, the junta, now known as the Presidential Adyisory Council, pushed a package of repressive legislation through the Assembly. One of those statutes, the Extraordinary Measures Law, in effect gives each provincial governor the powers of a military commander. When martial law was lifted in thirteen provinces last month, eight of the governors immediately invoked those powers. Martial law continues in Turkey's fifty-four other provinces.

Severe repression is a fact of life in Turkey [see box on following page]. In the last two weeks of February there were more than 200 political arrests, and two people were killed in what the government described as "clashes with the security forces." Also in February, seven political prisoners on a hunger strike protesting prison conditions were gunned down in Diyarbakir; the authorities called it an "uprising." In Istanbul alone over eighty people have disappeared since the coup; the authorities remain silent on their whereabouts.

The repression has been especially severe in eastern Anatolia, where most of Turkey's large Kurdish minority lives. Officially classified as "Mountain Turks," their existence as a distinct ethnic group denied for decades, the Kurds are undergoing persecution not experienced since the 1920s and 1930s. In a single trial in Diyarbakir more than 1,200 defendants are accused of advocating "separatism"; numerous other trials for the same crime, involving hundreds more, are taking place. At the same time, "security operations" in the region have been expanded to northern Iraq, where the Turkish Army, with the blessing of Iraq, has been attempting to sever the ties between Turkish Kurds and their kinsmen in Iraq.

Determined that junta members not meet the fate of Argentina's military leaders should a truly representative government gain power, Evren pushed through a law prohibiting criticism of actions the military took while in control. The generals have made it abundantly clear that they will resist any attempt to punish them in court.

The significance of the March 25 elections goes beyond the question of who will run Turkish cities and towns. The participation of most of the new parties tested the limits the generals have set in their effort to establish "stable" democracy based on a conservative consensus. But cracks are appearing in their enforced unity, and voices from all points on the political spectrum are challenging the legitimacy of the parliament.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that in 1980 the Turkish bourgeoisie and business leaders formed an alliance against the working class and welcomed the coup. That alliance remains strong, and in Ozal it has a leader. Although middle- and upper-class voters oppose military

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The Crackdown Goes On

Since Turkey's return to civilian rule last November, the trials and torture of political prisoners have continued unabated. About 55,000 such prisoners crowd Gen. Kenan Evren's jails, and the government has answered calls for a general amnesty by banning the word "amnesty" from public life. Since November, at least twelve people have been condemned to death for political crimes; seventy-eight members of DISK, Turkey's second-largest, leftist trade union confederation, could be given the death sentence for allegedly attempting to overthrow the Constitution.

Among those sentenced to long prison terms since the Ozal government took power are twenty-three leaders of the Turkish Peace Association (T.P.A.). The disarmament group's organizers were a prize catch for Turkey's former military rulers. All were leading lights of Turkey's old liberal and leftist establishment, which the generals took pains to dismember; they include a former ambassador, the president of the Istanbul Bar Association, and several trade unionists, writers, academics and former members of parliament for the liberal Republican People's Party. The T.P.A.'s activities had struck at the heart of Evren's strength: the close military ties between Turkey and the United States. Coming as it did immediately after Turkey's general elections, the imprisonment was a clear sign that the new government would do nothing to disturb that relationship.

Turkey's location—adjoining the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq and Syria—makes it the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's hottest strategic property. American military aid to Turkey has almost doubled since the 1980 coup; only Egypt and Israel receive more. Most of the $716 million in military aid promised for 1985 would go to upgrading the air force and the army, the largest but worst-equipped in Western Europe. Much of the rest will be used to modernize Turkey's fifty or so NATO bases and surveillance facilities. An air base which could be used by the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force is under construction at Mus, in eastern Turkey, within easy striking distance of the Persian Gulf, and funds have been allocated to build a NATO base just south of Bulgaria, in Thrace. The State Department, General Dynamics and Ankara are cooperating in a $4.3 billion plan to produce 160 F-16 jets—the largest single investment ever made in Turkey's heavily militarized economy.

The T.P.A. was the only organized opposition to this program of military fortification and economic waste. Founded in 1977 in the wake of the Helsinki Accords, it campaigned for universal nuclear disarmament, focusing on U.S. plans to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles and the neutron bomb in Turkey. It opposed all secret military agreements between Turkey and the United States, as well as the Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus and the arms race between Turkey and its NATO neighbor, Greece. Under the Social Democratic government of Bulent Ecevit, it was one of Turkey's most respected pressure groups. In February 1982, its campaign was cut short when the leaders were arrested by the junta's military police.

Last November 14, the T.P.A. leaders, many of them elderly and one of them, former Ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, seriously ill with prostate cancer, were sentenced to up to eight years' hard labor for forming an "illegal" and "conspiratorial" organization to "propagate the supremacy of one class over another" and to overthrow the state. The military prosecutors' evidence for the T.P.A.'s treasonous intent included confessions extracted under torture, records of the defendants' attendance at a World Peace Council conference and Peter the Great's last will and testament (1682). The last was cited as proof that the T.P.A.'s activities were furthering a historic Russian plot to annex Mediterranean warm-water ports.

Human rights abuses have already cost Turkey its aid from the European Economic Community and its seat in the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly. But in September the U.S. State Department warned two representatives of the Helsinki Watch Committee on human rights that their planned fact-finding mission to Turkey would be a "disadvantage to U.S. foreign policy interests." In Ankara the staff of the U.S. Embassy parroted the State Department's line: the generals were "popular," Turkey is "in transition" and undue emphasis on human rights might create the "tragedy" of alienating Turkey from the West. Elliot Abrams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, has expressed the same view.

According to the Watch Committee's report, some Turkish citizens consider U.S. Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe to be "almost a member of the junta" and cite examples of embassy complicity with the generals' schemes. Just before the arrests of the T.P.A. leaders, for instance, the embassy released United States Information Agency bulletins describing the World Peace Council as a Soviet front. Wording identical to that of the bulletins appeared in the indictment brought against the T.P.A. leaders. Conspiracy theories aside, U.S. collaboration with the Turkish military for the sake of foreign policy interests is helping to keep the T.P.A. leaders and their fellow prisoners in jail. Only pressure from Washington is likely to set them free.

MARIA MARGARONIS

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rule, they support the political and economic measures instituted during the past four years. The industrialists are keenly aware that Ozal's free-market policies would not be enforced in a democratic environment. Indeed, the results of the austerity measures demanded by the nation's economic elite may preclude a restoration of democracy.

The setbacks the military regime suffered at the polls have insured that it will no longer be able to dictate the composition and the specific policies of the Turkish government. Yet the authoritarian structure it has bequeathed to the country insures that the balance of power will continue to favor a united bourgeoisie against a currently weak and impoverished working class. □

Enfranchise

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

put in the way of Southern blacks for generations are notorious, and they are by no means eliminated by the Voting Rights Act, as we may fancy. Less well known is the maze of laws and arbitrary regulations that often make qualifying to vote a baffling experience. For the educated and motivated, it can take days. For others, many of them lower down on the socioeconomic totem pole, it can be nearly impossible.

Three generations ago Lincoln Steffens wrote that the constriction of the electorate served the mutual interests of machine politicians and their wealthy masters. The following are some examples of the way the nonsystem still works outside the South:

§ In Michigan, home base of the enlightened United Automobile Workers, voter registration is the domain of the city clerks, who are free to deputize registrars when they choose and often close down the process arbitrarily just when political interest is at its peak.

§ In Oregon, a reputed paragon of democracy, where the law says that registration can be accomplished by postcard, the cards are handed out as if they were $100 bills by a niggardly Secretary of State. As a result, a quarter of the people of Portland are unregistered.

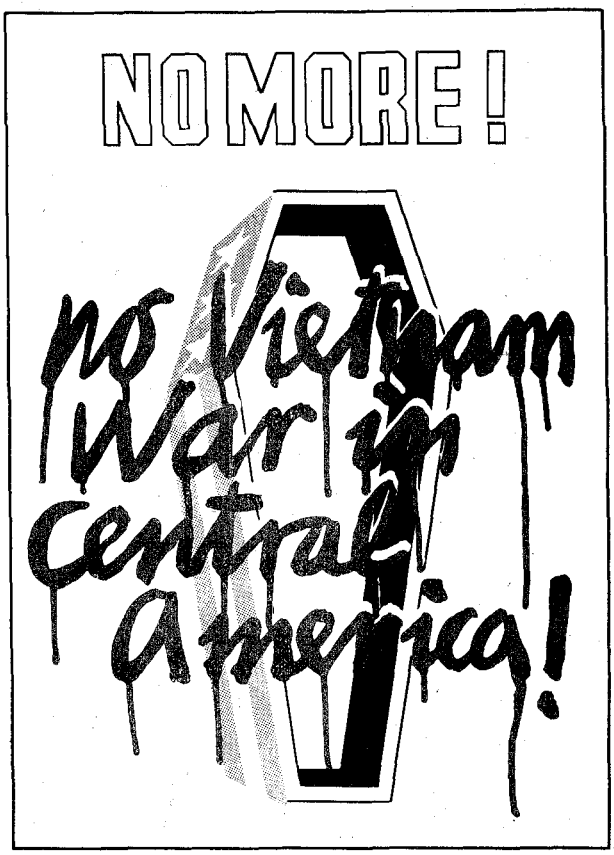
§ In Connecticut the law authorizes the deputizing of volunteer assistant registrars, but in New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury and elsewhere, registrars often use their "discretion" to refuse to deputize.

§ In Illinois a major registration reform law was enacted this year, eliminating the need to register with a county clerk during office hours, but the registration deadline is still twenty-eight days before an election.

One could cite many other examples. Some jurisdictions require applicants to register twice before their names are inscribed on the voting lists.

The wholesale exclusion of people from the political process caused some hand-wringing during the Democrats' heyday in Washington, but nothing like a movement for

Blair Clark, a former editor of The Nation, *is an active supporter of Human Serve.*



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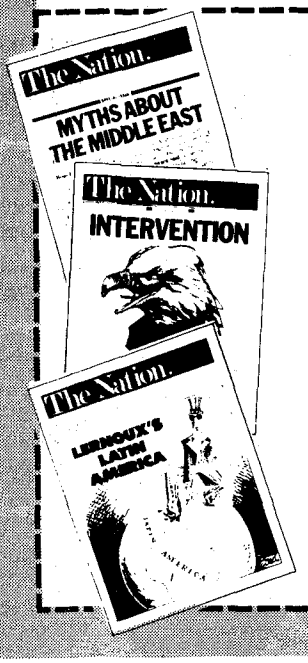

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reform was born until Reagan and Company launched a "one-sided class war," as Walter Dean Burnham has called it. All sorts of registration efforts have arisen from the perception that the best if not the only hope for changing policy is to leaven with poor people the predominantly middle-class electorate which chose Ronald Reagan. When the war on poverty was replaced by a war against the poor, things got moving.

Among the drives under way is that of Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, registering blacks in the urban ghettos and the rural South. There is also the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, which concentrates on signing up Hispanics. Women's and students' groups and a variety of ad hoc and grass-roots campaigns are busily registering voters at the local and regional levels. And the major civil rights groups are more active than ever. Lots of groups want to register lots of people for the same reason—to beat Reagan.

The most promising effort is the nonpartisan Human Service Employees Registration, Voting and Education Campaign (Human Serve), which is being conducted by a coalition of many groups in the field of human services. It was started last year by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. In their 1982 book, *The New Class War*, they propounded the idea of reversing political exclusionism. From that conception sprang the plan to mobilize the tens of thousands of social service professionals, in public and private agencies, to encourage and assist in registration among the people who come to them for help. It amounts to a concatenation of people, places and motivations to accomplish an important political purpose.

"The situation is ripe," Piven and Cloward declare in the Winter 1983 *Social Policy*, "for issue-oriented drives among the millions of unregistered clients of the welfare state." They reason that those who have suffered or who fear they might suffer from deep cuts in welfare programs would be more eager to become voters and that politicians won't resist those "economies" until a significant number of people whose lives were made endurable by social programs join the electorate.

You might think the Democratic Party would see an opportunity, but there are few signs that it has. Under the voting laws of New York and Massachusetts, the Democratic Governors of those states could order welfare workers to make a major effort to register their clients on a nonpartisan basis. But Gov. Mario Cuomo and Gov. Michael Dukakis have not done so, probably because many state legislators would oppose expanding the electorate. On the other hand, in Texas, Gov. Mark White recently ordered all state agencies to "maximize the state's resources and participation in voter registration," and to do it "while discharging their regular duties." White sensibly wrote, "With large blocs of citizens not participating, it becomes impossible for government to act in their interest."

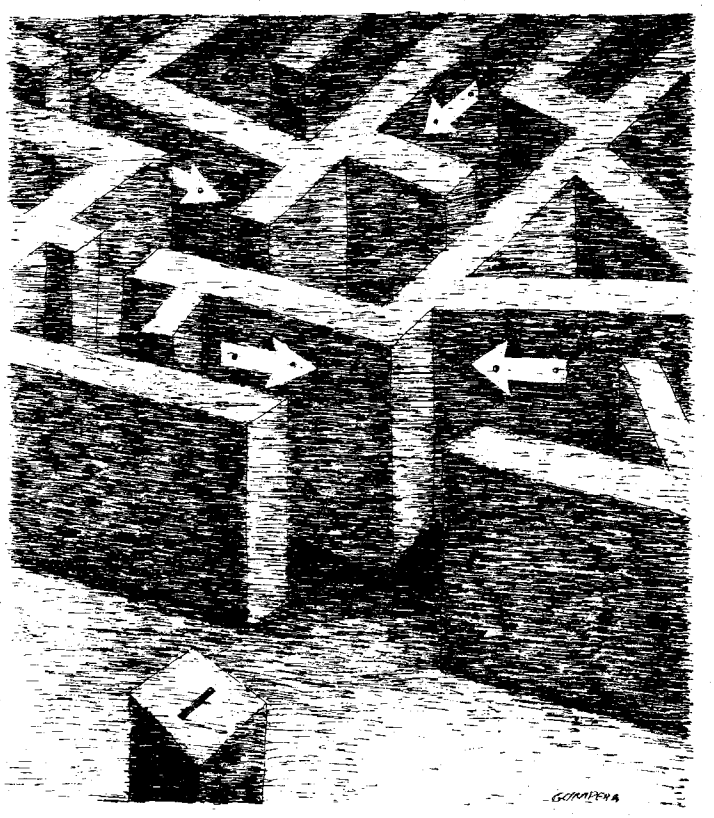
If registration campaigns succeed in enfranchising the millions they want to bring into the system (Human Serve alone aims for 5 million by November), politics will be profoundly affected. In 1980 Reagan won in thirteen states by margins of 5 percent or less. Carter lost in New York by a mere 165,585 votes, a figure which can be instructively compared with the 344,436 votes garnered in the Democratic primary this year by Jesse Jackson's amazing drive.

In trial runs Human Serve has shown that its approach is right. In a short period last spring 42,000 were registered in New York City, mostly in unemployment offices, food stamp centers and other agency sites. In Tennessee, where Reagan won by fewer than 6,000 votes in 1980, more than that number were registered in a few days last November.

Human Serve has put coordinators in key states; it is litigating to remove bureaucratic obstacles, training deputy registrars where the law permits and recruiting 5,000 student volunteers to do much of the legwork of registering this summer.

All that costs money, though Human Serve's budget of $750,000 to register 5 million poor people should be compared with the Republicans' $8 million-plus computerized effort to register 1.5 million affluents who have somehow fallen through the white-collar net. (If you are moved to help Human Serve, tax-deductible contributions can be sent to Box 102, 2901 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025.)

Registration offers the best hope of sending Ronald Reagan back to his ranch, as Gary Hart puts it. But desirable and even essential as that goal is, the prospect of radically restructuring American politics is what lies beyond the 1984 drive to include the excluded. On average, between 1848 and 1896 more than 75 percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. In 1980 only 53 percent did. Imagine what American politics might be like if the figure was even 65 percent, with those extra millions coming mainly from the unrepresented, poorer members of our deteriorating society. □



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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

What Cyril Thought

BERNARD McCABE

A Cyril Connolly revival is on. His one short novel, *The Rock Pool* (1936), his critical/autobiographical *Enemies of Promise* (1938, revised 1948) and his "word cycle," *The Unquiet Grave* (1945), written under the pseudonym Palinurus, have all been republished recently by Persea. Now we have his *Selected Essays* and his newly discovered journal.

Why this elevation of Connolly to the ranks of the gods? Peter Quennell, an Oxford contemporary and lifelong friend, places him beside Edmund Wilson. The two, he says, were "the most individual critics to appear during the last half of the twentieth century." In his memoir, David Pryce-Jones says that for forty years or more in English life and letters, "What does Cyril think?" was a valid question, and calls Connolly "the most influential critic in the country."

Influential, undoubtedly, but had he important things to tell us? Let's try him on four major twentieth-century writers: Marcel Proust, James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. Here is his considered opinion of the first two, published in 1943 in his magazine, *Horizon*, reprinted in 1948 and in Quennell's volume:

> Proust, like Pope, hoaxed his contemporaries; he put himself over on them as a reasonable, intelligent, kind and sensitive human being, when his personality was in fact diseased and malignant, his nature pathologically cruel and vacillating, his values snobbish and artificial, his mind . . . a riot of alternatives and variations, where both the neurotic horror of decision and the fear of leaving anything out are lurking behind his love of truth.
>
> For Joyce there seems almost less to be said; Proust's endless and repetitive soliloquies are at least the thoughts of an intelligent man, while those of Joyce reflect the vacuous mediocrity of his characters; both relive the past to the point of exhaustion. Both are men of genius whose work is distorted by illness, by the struggle of one to see and of the other to breathe; both seem to us to have lacked all sense of social or political responsibility.

Why would anyone bother to reprint this? Agreed, an interesting case could be made against either of those writers (see Wyndham Lewis on Joyce); agreed, all critics are entitled to their mistakes, as Quennell points out rather nervously in his introductory essay, "Cyril Connolly as Critic," citing Sainte-Beuve's failure to recognize the young Baudelaire's virtues. But there's a difference in the level of discourse. Connolly wrote, naïvely, that Joyce's soliloquies reflect the "vacuous mediocrity of his characters," whereas Sainte-Beuve wrote, cunningly, that the young Baudelaire was like a capricious pipe-smoking hermit in "a fantastic kiosk on the island of Kamskatchka."

Books Discussed in This Essay

THE SELECTED ESSAYS OF CYRIL CONNOLLY. *Edited by Peter Quennell. Stanley Moss/Persea. 307 pp. $17.95.*

CYRIL CONNOLLY: Journal and Memoir. *By David Pryce-Jones. Ticknor & Fields. 304 pp. $19.95.*

THE ROCK POOL. *By Cyril Connolly. Persea. 138 pp. Paper $5.95.*

ENEMIES OF PROMISE. *By Cyril Connolly. Stanley Moss/Persea. 265 pp. Paper $6.95.*

THE UNQUIET GRAVE: A Word Cycle by Palinurus. *By Cyril Connolly. Persea. 142 pp. Paper $5.95.*

All Connolly could do with D.H. Lawrence (who appears not at all in *Essays*, and only fleetingly in the journal) was to include him in a list of those "unnaturally praised," and to suggest that the discovery of the manuscript of another novel by him would be "a nightmare." And when Connolly, who had attacked Woolf's *Orlando* several times, expressed approval of *The Waves* with the vague phrase "one of the books which comes nearest to stating the mystery of life," she dismissed his comments as "cocktail criticism."

Woolf knew what was wrong. Connolly wrote a lot of book reviews. All too many were reprinted, in the books I have already mentioned and in *The Condemned Playground* (1945), *Ideas and Places* (1953) and *Previous Convictions* (1963). Most of that work is ephemeral, all of it ignores Connolly's own shrewd and, it must be said, elegant words in *Enemies of Promise*:

> What is intended to be read once can seldom be read more than once; a journalist has to accept the fact that his work, by its very to-dayness, is excluded from any share in to-morrow. Nothing dates like a sense of actuality than which there is nothing in journalism more valuable.

Self-inculpations of one kind or another were a constant ploy of this perpetually reluctant reviewer. Some of his self-inflicted wounds have become almost legendary. He described himself in youth as "an introspective romantic-sensitive, conceited, affectionate, gregarious and, at the time of leaving Eton, the outstanding moral coward of my generation," and in middle age as "a fat, slothful, querulous, greedy, impotent carcass; a stump, a decaying belly washed up on the shore." Throughout his career he chose to parade his growing obesity as a material manifestation of his spiritual decadence—fat Connolly the enemy of his own promise. Hence his best-known aphorism: "Imprisoned in every fat man a thin one is wildly signalling to be let out."

But those self-accusations are really made in the spirit of *qui s'accuse s'excuse*. In that spirit, and with only the slightest irony, he tells us in *Enemies of Promise* why Eton crippled him as a creative writer:

> Since I was unable to write in any living language when I left Eton I was already on the way to becoming a critic. My ambition was to be a poet but I could not succeed when poetry was immersed in the Georgian or Neo-Tennysonian tradition. . . . By the time Eliot and Valéry came to save my generation from the romantic dragon it had already devoured me. I was however well grounded enough to become a critic and drifted into it through unemployability.

His education, memorably evoked in

Bernard McCabe is on the faculty of Tufts University. His cultural articles and reviews have appeared in Commonweal, Commentary, Saturday Review *and many other publications.*

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Enemies, was extraordinary and included the most intensive training in the classics imaginable. At Eton the favored clever boys spent hours with brilliant textual scholars translating Greek and Latin works into elegant English or, alternatively, rendering late Victorian English verses into elegantly correct Latin and Greek. All enviable, in a way, like the intellectual energy with which this schoolboy read hugely in classic European literature.

The sad irony is that none of that reading and teaching prepared the poor man to be a valuable critic for his own or succeeding generations. He had no equipment with which to confront the contemporary literary world other than disembodied ideas about the *mot juste*, "style," "elegance," the "exquisite," the "graceful"—Woolf's cocktail criticism. Much of *Enemies of Promise* is taken up with the discussion of a spurious "battle of the styles" in fiction between the writers of plain and of "mandarin" prose. His antics here are evasive tactics, techniques for fleeing from the text undoubtedly learned from his experience with the Eton classics masters, who (on his own showing) shied away from the significance, whether moral or political, social or erotic, of Catullus, Ovid, Juvenal, Tacitus, Homer. A lot of Connolly's critical activity is a feverish making of lists: Who's in? Who's out? Who's a modernist? Who isn't? So much of the work is flibbertigibbet, a restless darting from text to text in a prose always "highly readable," always ready with an apt quotation, if not from eighteenth-century England then usually in French or Latin. There are occasional grand pronouncements: "There was a time . . . when it was impossible to write badly. This time I think was at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century." In context, it is true, that statement is not *quite* as silly as it sounds, but it is grotesque to place such lightweight notions beside Edmund Wilson's monumental ponderings.

Politics hardly existed for him. He had a non-position in the 1920s, though Pryce-Jones recalls, without comment, that he volunteered as a special constable during the bitter 1926 general strike; a modish inclination toward the left in the 1930s; and a soft decline rightward after the war. During the war he found it necessary to take some political stands. Here is Palinurus

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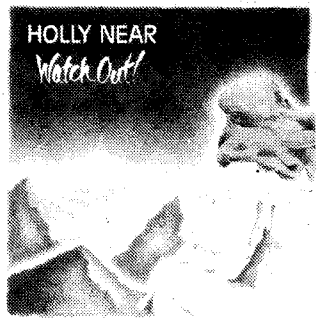

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speaking politically in *The Unquiet Grave*:

> When the present slaughter terminates humanity can only survive through a return to the idea of happiness as the highest good, happiness which lies not in Power or in the exercise of the Will, but in the flowering of the spirit, and which in an unwarped society should coincide with consciousness.

In *Horizon* Connolly often wrote indignantly of what he called English society's innate hostility to the arts, proposing various remedies. Quennell reprints one of them:

> An artistic Renaissance can only take place where there is a common attitude to life, a new and universal movement. By the time Anglo-American war aims have crystallized from the philosophy behind them, this should be in existence. But no political movement can have the art it deserves until it has learned to respect the artist.

An unwarped society, a common attitude to life, a new and universal movement, crystallized war aims—as he scribbled those platitudes, Connolly must have known that only sixty miles away, in Cambridge, the intense and serious group that edited *Scrutiny* was proclaiming that dilettante "appreciations" should be abandoned and a literary criticism in the Samuel Johnson-Matthew Arnold tradition be re-established. In the words of F.R. Leavis, "A sensitive response to delicate organizations of feeling" could bring precise discrimination and at the same time lead beyond literary texts toward genuine engagement with the major issues of contemporary life. Despite the shortcomings we may now find in some of its methods and manners or its shaky theoretical underpinnings, *Scrutiny* had a lasting influence on critical reading and thinking.

To its editors, Connolly was a frivolous pillar of the frequently excoriated London literary establishment, a power among the weekend reviewers who controlled and debilitated the taste of the reading public. What Cyril thought each week in *The New Statesman* or in *The Sunday Times* must have been met in Cambridge with grim laughter. But Connolly kept gaily on, appreciating away. Quennell's collection opens, for example, with some travel essays. "I have always been fascinated by the Grand Tour," Connolly writes. "In how many biographies over the last three centuries does it not form the pleasantest chapter?" We might be back with the pipe-smoking Edwardian belletrists, with such dodos as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch or Sir Desmond MacCarthy, Connolly's predecessor at *The Sunday Times*. Fine writing everywhere, much charm and many cultivated dying falls. We are uncomfortably close to the travel brochure, as in another of Connolly's wrestlings with James Joyce:

> For me any criticism of *Ulysses* will be affected by a wet morning in Florence, when in the empty library of a villa with the smell of wood-smoke, the faint eaves-drip, I held the uncouth volume dazedly open in the big armchair. Narcissus with his pool before him.

The odd thing is that Connolly in his pert, lively way had spoofed just that kind of writing in *The Condemned Playground* and elsewhere. But, as Pryce-Jones remarks, he had a lifelong aptitude for having his cake and eating it.

In a section called "Satires and Parodies," Quennell does usefully reprint the celebrated spoof "Where Engels Fears To Tread," a sketch in the manner of Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies* about the social, literary, political dandy world of the 1920s and 1930s (the subject of Martin Green's excellent study *Children of the Sun*). There's also a clever and accurate parody of Huxley's early fiction and a quite unfunny parody of Ian Fleming's James Bond. (The joke—it goes on for eighteen pages—is that Bond disguises himself as a drag queen and ends up in the arms of a Soviet general.)

Pryce-Jones's book contains a 145-page diary that Connolly kept from the age of 25 to 34. Almost anybody's intimate diary is of some interest, and there are tidbits here for the voyeur in us all, as Connolly works his way from homosexual attachments to what Pryce-Jones quaintly calls "womanizing" to eventual marriage. (His first, short marriage was to a young, boyish, bisexual American woman. Two others followed.) The journal is laced with parties ("dined Wansboroughs—lost thirty shillings bridge") and travel ("Cette at midnight, sleepy ride to an hotel near water, the plage de Frontignan, the wide canal. *Beau ciel, vrai ciel, regard moi qui change*"). Then there are the lists, those *lists*. For example, in 1928:

> Friends made: Harold, Gladwyn, Raymond, Hyslop

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lost: Desmond, Molly, Freddie perhaps, K and Jane
Friends restored: Bobbie, Noel, Maurice intermittently, Peter

Harold is Harold Nicolson, Gladwyn is Gladwyn Jebb, the prominent Liberal statesman. I forget who Freddie is. One has to put up with a lot of this when plodding through Evelyn Waugh's journals, but then Waugh is Waugh. (The two were uneasy friends, Waugh always holding the whip hand, admiring something in Connolly but also laughing at him—"Smarty Boots" was his private name for him—and always thinking him a bit of a fraud. Waugh amused himself by giving Connolly's name to various disreputable figures in his novels—the mercenary in *Black Mischief*, the three awful children in *Put Out More Flags*.)

Close criticism of a private journal is obviously out of place, but one does notice echoes of Stephen Dedalus and Mrs. Dalloway; some of Connolly's writing was clearly intended for eyes other than his own. Quennell in fact reprints one such passage, carefully refurbished for publication. The lineaments of *The Rock Pool* and some of the self-communings in *The Unquiet Grave* are here. And I think the following entry was written with print in mind. Aged 25, Connolly encounters on his travels a 17-year-old Yugoslav peasant girl. He wines and dines her in a village inn: "She had never heard of London and we had some champagne. Then I had her and she was still cold, but very fresh and young, the whole thing came to under a pound and I walked down to Zagreb with all the nightingales singing in the dawn and the dew wet on the grass." I don't believe it is righteous indignation that makes me loathe this. It's not just the plump moneyed young body, Eton and Oxford, having its way with a simple country girl; it's not the hackneyed nightingales and dew-wet grass; not even the penny-pinching pound—dismal as all that is. What is really unbearable is the coy guilt with which Connolly presents the episode.

Pryce-Jones's memoir has a brief introductory chapter which skillfully and wittily presents the complicated self-parodist that 50-year-old Connolly had become when the two met in 1953. The bulk of the memoir, though, is basically a retelling of Connolly's "A Georgian Boyhood." A brief epilogue to the journal offers an ill-advised impersonation of Connolly (who died in 1974) facing

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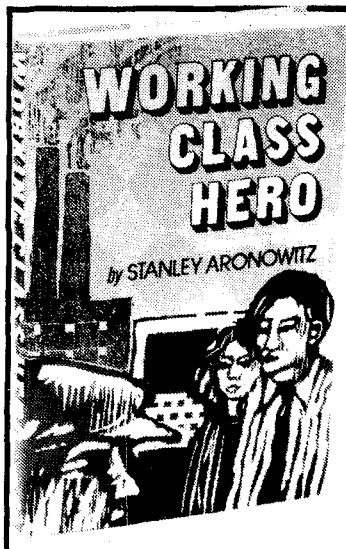

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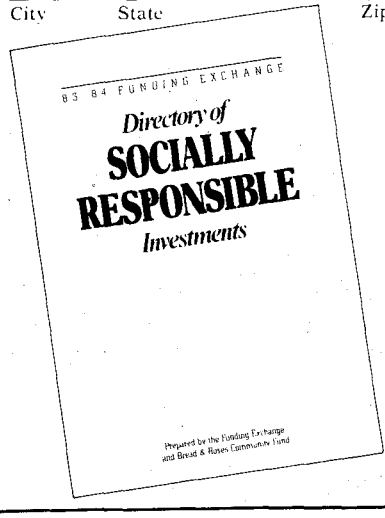
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the modern literary scene and attacking Cambridge in particular:

> Since the last war, envious women and embittered young-old men have dominated literary life. . . . Critics and professors can write their books with mumbo-jumbo titles like *The Romantic Image* and *The Great Tradition*, they are paid by the tax-payer to sit in a library, but they are forgotten the day they retire. I had to keep myself safe from them. I had nothing but my talent—they had colleges, cliques, pensions, the party line. . . .

A pity Pryce-Jones felt the need to revive these ancient battles. And "they are paid by the tax-payer"! Wily old Palinurus would never have let his guard down so clumsily.

The Unquiet Grave is often hailed as Connolly's masterpiece. It's a sort of glorified commonplace book, with many splendid passages from Horace, Flaubert, Sainte-Beuve, Goethe, Voltaire and less well-known figures, all in the original tongues and with additional aphorisms supplied by Connolly. Sometimes the *pensées* fall with a dullish thump: from Chamfort, "Il faut recommencer la société humaine," and "La pensée console de tout"; from Connolly, "How many books did Renoir write on how to paint?" and "A woman who will not feign submission can never make a man happy. There has never been a happy suffragette."

The book is full of guilts, frustrations and the newly fashionable (in 1943) angst. In war-drab, isolated England, the book's nostalgias, its Mediterranean exoticisms, its plangent elegiac tone, made it a sudden extravagant success (though Waugh criticized it ferociously). Today it is only a period piece, a rather pretentious collection of "arresting" saws and instances, derived perhaps from the esthete Logan Pearsall Smith's books of aphorisms, *Trivia* and *More Trivia*.

What's worth preserving then? (High time to remove the jackboots.) Without question, "A Georgian Boyhood." This long last section of *Enemies* tells three stories. The first rehearses the enormities that the English upper and ruling classes visited (and still do, to some extent) on their male children from the age of 8 to 18: the bullyings and humiliations, the beatings, the obligatory sports and anti-intellectualism. We are reminded that Connolly and Orwell were schoolmates both at prep school and at Eton, and it is fascinating to read Orwell's analysis of their first common school in "Such, Such Were the Joys" beside Connolly's more vividly personal account. (It is still a shock to be reminded by Connolly that at 18 Orwell was officially caned by his peers at Eton for "uppishness.")

The second story describes Connolly's high-powered education, told with wonderful aplomb, seventeen years after the fact. One suspects some embellishment:

> I was fond of the Old Testament, disliked the New. My favourite books were Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Solomon in which I recognised the melancholy and tired distinction of an old race, the mysterious Ezekiel and that earthy mystic, the first Isaiah. Job was too much thrust upon me and the Lamentations of Jeremiah I found in faulty taste. All these I read with more pleasure in the sonorous Latin of the Vulgate. They were among the books I lived in through the winter evenings.

Those youthful Connolly winter evenings with the tired distinction of an old race, Jeremiah's faulty taste, the sonorous Vulgate—no wonder Waugh went after him.

The third and most absorbing story is about his struggle for power and popularity in the intense inbred atmosphere of the huge school, packed with wealth and titles and conscious privilege, along with a small number of middle-class boys like himself and Orwell, who were there because they were immensely clever. Connolly, unblessed with physical beauty or social position, no good at games and cursed with high intelligence, nevertheless triumphed through a mixture of wit and self-abasement. In the course of telling the tale, he unfolds a fine drama of intense relationships and clashes of temperament, as he grows into self-knowledge.

In conclusion, he develops two themes. One, derived from the classics and the Old Testament, is the notion of an avenging God who punishes all human success or happiness, a powerful but also commonplace idea that was responsible for a lot of his later self-castigation and self-pity. Much more original was his Theory of Permanent Adolescence:

> The experiences undergone by boys at the great public schools, their glories and disappointments, are so intense as to dominate their lives and to arrest their development. From these it

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> results that the greater part of the ruling class remains adolescent, school-minded, self-conscious, cowardly, sentimental and in the last analysis homosexual. Early laurels weigh like lead and of many of the boys whom I knew at Eton, I can say that their lives are over. Those who knew them then knew them at their best and fullest; now, in their early thirties, they are haunted ruins.

Connolly loved to see himself as a haunted ruin—romance and an alibi all in one. But in that permanent adolescence lies the secret of his strange career. It was responsible for many posturings and absurdities, and no doubt for many agonies and self-defeats. But it keeps "A Georgian Boyhood" alive and surprising, and it gives his neglected novel, *The Rock Pool*, its distinctive mercurial tone.

The Rock Pool is about "closing time in the gardens of the West." It is the tale of a young Englishman's quick decline into drunkenness and decadence among a dissipated international bohemian set that hangs out near Cap d'Antibes around 1930. A somber Huxleyan moral fable about upper-class inadequacies, it also has affinities with *Tender Is the Night* and even *Under the Volcano*: self-destruction looming in an excited sense of sun-drenched life, erotic energy, high-spirited hopes and disillusionments. Like "A Georgian Boyhood," it poignantly underlines the creative promise that Connolly could not ultimately fulfill.

In 1939, Connolly helped found the monthly magazine *Horizon*. As editor he kept it going for ten years—an extraordinary effort in the face of the blitz, hopeless wartime communications and numbing shortages, notably of paper. *Horizon* published a remarkable range of poets, fiction writers, artists and critics. The smuggled works of many anti-Nazi European writers appeared there, and the American scene was not neglected. With all its slapdash, disheveled and sometimes absurd performances, the magazine was, after all, a noble achievement.

Yet why this flood of reprints? Is it just that the thirties are next in line after Bloomsbury for publishers' overkill? Or does Connolly, that hyperarticulate representative of a ruling class whose nerve had failed yet which kept on celebrating itself, now fascinate and somehow reassure the similarly style-conscious and worried eighties? In his lifetime, many people were very fond of Connolly, if often in a wary way. For his part, he loved plants and animals and wrote quite beautifully about lemurs, several of which he kept as pets at various times. So peace be with his shade, which must, I suppose, be as thin as anyone else's. □

Rounding Up the Usual Suspects

RANDALL KENNEDY

JUSTICE AT WAR: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases. *By Peter Irons. Oxford University Press. 407 pp. $18.95.*

Peter Irons's *Justice at War* recounts in absorbing detail one of the most shameful episodes in the history of American law: the unsuccessful challenge to the military orders that forced all persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast to be interned in concentration camps for the duration of World War II. None of those people had been charged with committing crimes. Citizens and noncitizens alike were simply victims of anti-Oriental hatred and the courts' unwillingness to enforce the Constitution against specious claims of "military necessity."

The three Supreme Court cases that arose from challenges to the internment program tainted almost everyone who had anything to do with them—including a long list of liberal heroes. President Roosevelt and a Congress dominated by New Deal Democrats gave a bona fide racist, Lieut. Gen. John L. DeWitt, the authority to subject Japanese-Americans to military rule in the absence of a declaration of martial law. Although Earl Warren would later become a leading force in the development of antidiscrimination law as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he staunchly advocated internment as Attorney General of California in 1942. Edward Ennis, who later became the general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, repeatedly subordinated his own judgment and conscience to the dictates of superiors while he was head of the Alien Enemy Control Unit in the Justice Department. Even the National Lawyers Guild, true to its policy of "complete support" for Roosevelt and the United States-Soviet alliance, refused to consider the summary incarceration of Japanese-American citizens a pressing concern. In the words of one Guild member, internment constituted merely "a minor item" in the misery created by the war.

The Supreme Court, too, supported the wrong side. In the most important of the cases, *Korematsu v. United States*, the Court upheld a lower court ruling which convicted Fred T. Korematsu of being present in an area from which Japanese-Americans had been excluded. Writing for the Court, Justice Hugo L. Black—another liberal hero—declared that the internment policy was based not on racial antagonism but on a reasonable judgment by the Congress and the military that there were disloyal individuals among Japanese-Americans, that their identity could not be quickly and reliably determined and that the vulnerability of the West Coast to enemy attack justified emergency measures.

Three Justices—Owen Roberts, Frank Murphy and Robert Jackson—dissented, arguing that the government's claim of military necessity was a sham. In his final report on the internment program, General DeWitt admitted that there was no evidence of Japanese-American complicity in actions against the United States. Incredibly, however, the same report concluded that "the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken." In the eyes of the military, Japanese-Americans were suspect no matter what the evidence showed.

Justice Black strenuously contended that the internment policy had nothing to do with racial prejudice. But the final report branded all people of Japanese ancestry members of "an enemy race." The animosity seething beneath those words was not merely the result of heightened nationalist feelings due to America's war against Japan. At no point during the war were Italian-Americans or German-Americans ostracized or deprived of their rights. Questioned in Congress about this difference in treatment, General DeWitt answered forthrightly: "You needn't worry about the Italians at all except in certain cases. Also, the same for the

Randall Kennedy is a law clerk for a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

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Germans except in individual cases. But we must worry about the Japanese all the time until he is wiped off the map."

Exacerbating the racism at the base of the government's policy were two other factors completely disregarded by the Supreme Court majority. First, California's Japanese-American population was small enough to suppress without too much difficulty. In Hawaii, where martial law was declared after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the evacuations and internments were far less drastic: there were simply too many people to detain. Thus the size of the West Coast Japanese-American population, which the military claimed prevented the investigation by normal means of potential traitors, actually made it a convenient object for the release of American frustration and aggression. Second, business and farming interests lobbied extensively to remove their Japanese-American competition. As a spokesman for a business association put it:

> We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. . . . We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. . . . If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we'd never miss them in two weeks, because the white farmers can take over and produce everything the Jap grows. And we don't want them back when the war ends, either.

The Japanese internment cases tainted even some of those who opposed the government's action. Perhaps the most novel and revealing aspect of Irons's study is his description of the conflict that arose within the ranks of the A.C.L.U. over the handling of the litigation—especially between the local attorneys who represented Japanese-American dissidents and the A.C.L.U. national leadership, led by Roger Baldwin, who wanted to bring the cases under the organization's direct control. Baldwin feared that the local attorneys might not have the necessary resources, experience and skill. But he was also motivated by crass ambition, an unseemly desire to make the national A.C.L.U. the arbiter of all significant litigation in the civil liberties arena.

A more serious dispute developed within the governing board of the national A.C.L.U. over the grounds upon which its attorneys were permitted to challenge the military orders. The local attorneys had argued that without a formal declaration of martial law, the government had no authority to invest the military with the power to remove *any* citizen from his or her home. However, a faction of the A.C.L.U. board, including such notables as Max Lerner, Corliss Lamont and Osmond Fraenkel, succeeded in passing a resolution that prohibited local A.C.L.U. chapters from making that constitutional objection. All the board would allow was the narrower claim that the military orders were invalid because they were applied in a racially discriminatory manner.

The resolution reflected the A.C.L.U.'s general reluctance to challenge an Administration to which some influential board members had close political and personal ties. Certain board members also felt uneasy about defending persons publicly perceived as disloyal. As a result, the A.C.L.U. refused to support any case in which there were "grounds for a belief that the defendant is cooperating with or acting on behalf of the enemy, even though the particular charge against the defendant might otherwise be appropriate for intervention by the Union." The A.C.L.U. invoked that policy as its basis for refusing to support the appeal of Minoru Yasui after a Federal judge ruled that he had given up his citizenship merely by working in the Japanese consulate prior to the outbreak of war. Baldwin and other A.C.L.U. leaders eventually recognized that the ruling was wholly without foundation, but by then it was too late to help.

MEMORY

Out of the old noon sun
still lifting wraiths from morning gulleys
the phoebe's call assailed the barn
whose shingles were nearer the heart of gray
in the shadow of those deep eaves.
Summer, like a huckster, wound
over the hill, having sold snippets
of blue thread, a needle, some ribbon,
perhaps a pan or two for a child
to bang on in time
to the oaten reed of phoebe's throat.

The falls still murmured out
of the tannery's sundered foundations
past the great millstones
that lay beyond the culvert.
Everything was the same:
the same thread of ink
stitching samplers of the hours;
the same summer stretching
to that familiar autumn perched
like a chipmunk on the barrel
by the chicken coop.

We fed the song sparrows seeds
the chipmunks stole.
Winter huddled under the pelt
or the plume, regardless of our will,
whether we forestalled the first frost with words
or let fly with silence.

The child and the birds were fat and sleek.
For the moment one did not need
to sing that sad song one had in mind.
But we reserved the right to return
to that old tune one day
when summer's luster dimmed
to the color of morning mist,
took on the patina and hue of pewter,
and the dew lay crystalline on the vials
of colored honeywater hung on wires
to halt the flight of the hummingbird.

Lewis Turco

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Justice at War has many virtues. It is the well-written product of exhaustive research by an author with a keen eye for the telling detail. It is attentive to the historical and sociological forces that lay behind the internment, and sensitive to the importance of individual personalities in the shaping of events. As a case study in the making of American constitutional law, it belongs on the same shelf as Anthony Lewis's *Gideon's Trumpet* and Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice*.

There are, however, important flaws in Irons's account. The most serious is his tendency to make exaggerated claims for his research. He makes much of his finding that attorneys in the Justice Department knew there was nothing to substantiate General DeWitt's allegations about widespread Japanese-American involvement in espionage and sabotage, that certain evidence was intentionally left out of the general's final report and that Edward Ennis and other Department attorneys made an unsuccessful, last minute attempt to add a footnote to the Solicitor General's brief that would have indicated the Department's unwillingness to vouch for the accuracy of the military's claims. Irons asserts that those revelations describe "a legal scandal without precedent in the history of American law." He even suggests that the Supreme Court might have reached different conclusions if the disputed footnote had been included.

Such claims make good advertising copy and helped grab the attention of *60 Minutes*, which ran a segment on the internment last February. But they work against the main point of Irons's study by implying that the Supreme Court reached an unjust decision simply because the government withheld vital information. How important was that footnote? As Irons points out, General DeWitt's final report, on which the government based its argument, was both transparently racist and internally inconsistent. Justice Murphy did not need Irons's revelations to conclude that the Court's decision in *Korematsu v. United States* constituted a "legalization of racism." Nor did Eugene Rostow need them to declare in the *Yale Law Journal* in 1945 that the "Supreme Court's doctrine of ethnic disloyalty belongs with folk proverbs—'blood is thicker than water'—and the pseudogenetics of the Nazis." Having convincingly shown the Court's culpability in the internment outrage, Irons would seem to absolve it of responsibility because of its ignorance of his research. Fortunately, the cumulative power of *Justice at War* thwarts Irons's taste for sensationalism. The facts he marshals overwhelm the conclusion he draws. □

DANCE.

MINDY ALOFF

A show of Soichi Sunami photographs featuring "the young Martha Graham" (in the Dance Collection reading room of the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center this winter) showed that as early as the 1920s, when Graham was still developing her style as a choreographer, her style as a costume designer was fully formed. For much of her career, Graham costumed her own dances, and the theatrical effect of her tubular sheaths and divided skirts cannot be overestimated. In the costumes she devised for herself she liked to disclose the exquisite line of her torso with clinging fabrics and fitted bodices. As adventuresome as it is in other ways, her art never strays far from glamour. In a 1927 Sunami photograph of a dance called *Fragilité*, we can see the fluid Graham contour through a low-waisted, off-the-shoulder gown that could have been worn by a member of the audience. Above all, the distinguishing feature of her costumes is their clarity of silhouette. They define the figure so well you can read it from the last row of the balcony. The cut alone tells you who the characters are. Halston, her current designer, dresses dancers, but not, like Graham, dramatis personae.

There is more to Graham than design genius. In her masterpieces—*Primitive Mysteries*, *Frontier*, *El Penitente*, *Errand Into the Maze*, *Dark Meadow*, *Cave of the Heart* and *Appalachian Spring*—Graham uses movement to dramatize the tension between two dimensions and three. She isn't subtle about this; she is as direct as a thunderbolt. The reversals she constantly makes between type and individual are closely related to the fascination and dread every dancer experiences as she tries to tear her image out of the studio mirror and translate it to the depth of the stage. This constant play between flatness and depth, between design and psychology, can make a moment from a Graham

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dance seem like an Escher drawing. The sets devised for her by Isamu Noguchi, with their play between sculpture and line drawing, fortify this dynamic.

In the past decade, a number of conditions have conspired to rob Graham's new dances, and her company's performances, of both weight and depth. Yet even her impoverished *Rite of Spring* could still grab an audience at its world premiere during the company's three-week season at the New York State Theater early this year. The space the dance creates for itself is shallow and blurred, the narrative is without compulsion, the acting is formulaic. Only Graham's facility for shape-making, alone or in collaboration with her dancers, keeps the pastiche of pictorial arrangements from flying into blue sky. Set to another score—as it might as well have been, for Graham has paid little heed to Stravinsky's—the work could just as well have been performed in reverse, beginning with the Chosen One's doomed quaking in place and moving backward to the stiff-shouldered, hollow-chested entrance of the men (an entrance so suggestive of the stance adopted by the female chorus in Graham's 1931 study of Southwestern ritual that one might call the men's version "Primitive Masteries"). The other work new to New York, *Phaedra's Dream*, contains neither dramatic nor pictorial interest. It does offer up a gesture of some rudeness and titillation, however, when a man insinuates his fist into a hole at the center of a circular stone and slowly extracts the heroine's purple cape.

In her ninetieth year, Graham still knows the secret of bringing audiences to their feet. Her curtain calls with the company are as expressive as the performances I remember her giving in *The Witch of Endor* during the 1960s. Considering the understandable sentiment that surrounds her every appearance now, to see her perform any sort of movement—a bend of the waist, a lift of the chin—is as thrilling as trying to decipher a genetic code. I wish she could have appeared, however briefly, in *The Rite of Spring*; she'd have made a true Shaman.

Even in dancing, an art of appearances, looks can deceive. Tap-dancer Chuck Green, for instance, could be a strapping 70, or a fit 60, or even an old 50 who has known sorrow of some enormous order. Green is built on an epic scale for a dancer: big brooding head; massive shoulders and hips encased in a tuxedo; improbably gigantic and clownish flat feet in black dress shoes the size of small river skiffs. When he steps, there's little light between his soles and the floor. He idly drifts, the slightest rock of his weight producing taps so clear in their sound and so various in their rhythmic relationships that their cadences throb with expressive potential. Green inches along so much of the time that when he springs up and clicks his heels he leaves an impression as surprising as if the Seagram Building were to fling itself into the air. He performs the kind of tap-dancing sometimes dubbed "rhythm tap." To name a step ("DAH-di-di-DAH") is to chart its metabolism. Its pulse is its essence; it's a living art.

For the past several years, Green has appeared as a guest in programs such as *Sweet Saturday Night*, a revue produced with much success by a group of minority artists and scholars at the Brooklyn Academy of Music last month. The program paid tribute primarily to black American social and popular dance forms, from ritual dances to those devised by kids in the course of jumping Double Dutch. Underlying the exuberant and gregarious nature of the show is the painful history of American blacks; the transition from freedom to slavery is an unnamed source of imagery, an unconscious well of dreams. One feels this most keenly in Green's dance to the Billy Strayhorn song, "Take the A Train." The first time I saw Green perform this dance, some seasons back, I couldn't believe I was witnessing the images he made. Although individual moments vary, in general the dance consistently develops the same character. We see a terrified creature—eyes wild in his sockets, head sunk into his neck—being tamed and matured by the sustaining rhythm and growing into the high sophistication of his clothes. Green's feet aren't involved in this little story: from the start, they converse in an abstract language of accents, meters and the playful subversions of a vernacular pulse. The theater occurs from his waist up, so shyly—or slyly—one can't be sure of it at any given moment. It's like the ghost of an ancestor, spooking a photograph. "Oh, here comes Chuck Green," the lady seated behind me murmured as he came on stage. "I like him, he's so smooth and debonair." Yes, debonair's the last stop with Green. But it's not where one boards. □

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E	■	I	■	E	■	S	■	O	■	U	■	E	■	T
P	E	G	A	S	U	S	■	W	R	I	G	G	L	E
O	■	E	■	E	■	E	■	G	■	N	■	O	■	A
R	I	O	T	■	K	N	E	E	S	■	U	N	U	M
T	■	N	■	A	■	E	■	A	■	A	■	I	■	■
E	N	S	I	G	N	S	■	R	E	P	L	A	C	E
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S	U	N	B	E	A	M	■	R	E	C	I	P	E	S
■	■	U	■	E	■	A	■	E	■	E	■	U	■	T
R	A	C	K	■	E	J	E	C	T	■	A	N	T	E
E	■	L	■	O	■	E	■	I	■	W	■	T	■	R
C	L	E	A	V	E	S	■	T	O	R	S	I	O	N
A	■	A	■	E	■	T	■	A	■	I	■	N	■	E
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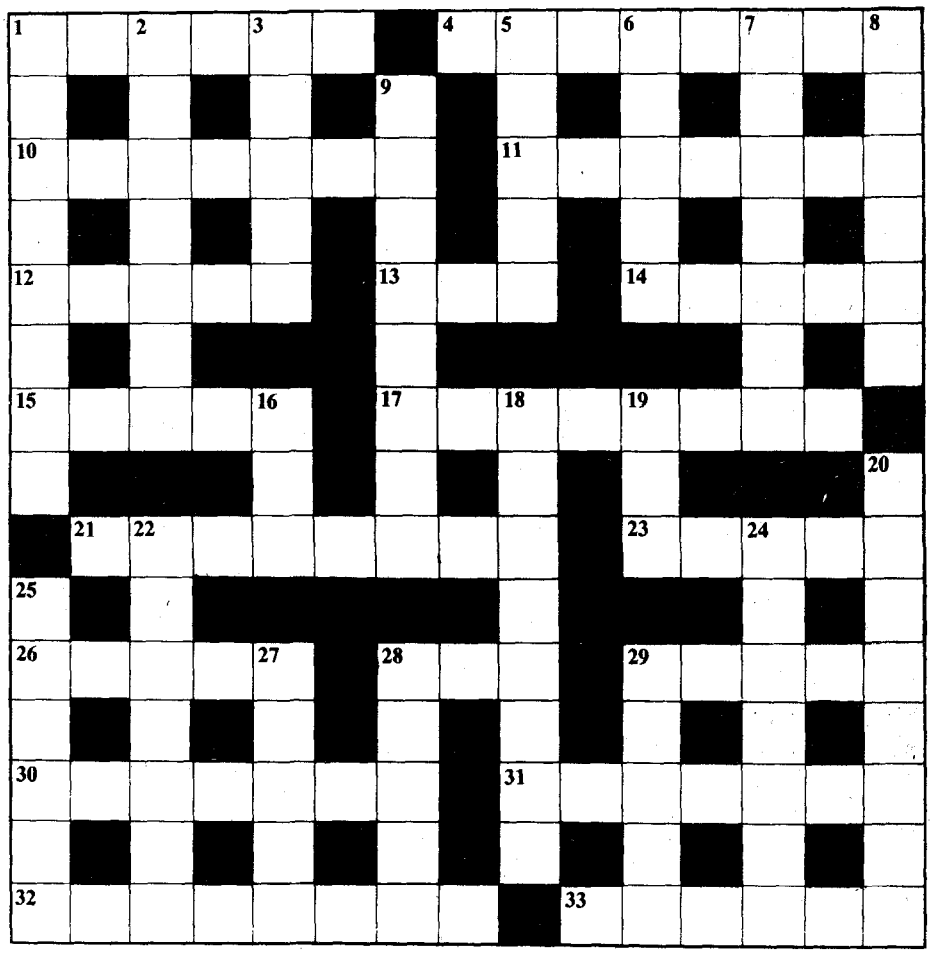
Crossword Puzzle No. 2005

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Put out about a hundred, if a peaceful settlement is to be obtained when you do. (6)
4 The sort of field officer that gets your goat, perhaps. (No stranger to the cook!) (8)
10 and 19 down It's what you might expect after going to college—shaking like a politician! (10)
11 One of the Little Women around the brood's home—overlooking the offense. (7)
12 When is one supposed to see alligators? (5)
13 See 28 across
14 How they sometimes sing way up high? (5)
15 and 31 The steel-rolling boss may be concerned with it, as usual! (3-2-3-4)
17 If they're too loud might Eckstein be disturbed by them? (8)
21 Save the ridicule! (Evidently Adam could, though there's not much meat on it!) (5,3)
23 and 26 Funny men fall over themselves—or it might be a humorous take-off, as you'll see in the papers. (5,5)
28 and 13 Deliberate and uncalled-for, yet pale and putting on weight. (6)
29 Evidence that your picture has really been taken. (5)
30 Worse (bad, anyway) in a few added words relating to a daring deed. (7)
31 See 15
32 A kind of drying oil put on a British weapon—an element of rarity here. (8)
33 Joined together with me getting to take off. (6)

DOWN

1 Salesmen who suggest they have working cycles? (8)
2 In big letters, as they say, sort of brown. (Sailors used to go around with one.) (7)
3 Meal when bolted—it sounds like a bloomer! (5)
5 How to make a profit once more. (5)
6 The girl who kissed me wasn't the spinning type. (5)
7 The wrong side street in Paris is about what the rest may be like. (7)
8 Might possibly take off—but it's flight doesn't last long. (3,3)
9 It might hold things together with more speed around most of the end. (8)
16 and 29 down Provincially it sounds like a long distance around the neck, perhaps! (3,5)
18 Furniture somewhat more highly placed than the top of the bureau. (8)
19 See 10 across
20 Something that slides around what you might have on your trouser leg—and struggled with some confusion. (8)
22 Steal almost as a cat does, and a wild lion. (7)
24 Tie up with his sort, and find the type Othello was! (7)
25 Sort of ship at a place under fire. (6)
27 Iron those of paper, collectively. (5)
28 It might be left over, but it takes sweat to make it! (5)
29 See 16

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